THE EXPANSION OF RURAL LIFE

JAMES MICKEL WILLIAMS

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THE EXPANSION OF RURAL LIFE

BOOKS BY

JAMES MICKEL WILLIAMS

THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

THE EXPANSION OF RURAL LIFE

OUR RURAL HERITAGE

THE EXPANSION OF RURAL LIFE

The Social Psychology of Rural Development

BY

JAMES MICKEL WILLIAMS, PH.D.

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TO

MY DEAR BOY

HENRY

IN TOKEN OF THE BEGINNING
OF OUR COMRADESHIP IN THINGS
INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
FEB 17 1959

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PREFACE

Three rural traditions have contributed to the determination of our national life, that of the South, that of the North, and that of the Frontier. The planter, the farmer, and the speculator differed in their economic conditions and, therefore, in their psychology. This book is concerned with the farmer and his community. In the United States most farmers live in the open country around a village as their trading and social center. Because of this intimate relation between village and country a study of rural psychology includes that of the village.

This book is a study of rural development. It deals with the psychological processes of rural development. Such a study inevitably involves much that is not psychological. Forms of organization that have psychological significance must be described but I have limited this description to what seemed clearly to serve a psychological purpose.

This book is the second of a series on rural development. The first, *Our Rural Heritage,* had to do with the rural population of New York State in the first period of development, that is, up to about 1874. This book continues the analysis from that date to the present. Up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century the prevailing attitudes and beliefs were much the same as they had been from the beginning. Then began an expansion of rural life which has continued to the present time. Two periods of this expansion may be distinguished. The first extends from 1874 to 1900. In 1874 the third generation from the post-revolutionary settlers had come to maturity and had inherited the wealth accumulated by previous generations. Railroads had come to ramify through the state and this brought the rural districts into closer contact with the cities. The depression of 1874–1878 was followed by agricultural prosperity, and also by a notable development of manufacturing in the villages and cities. Toward the end of the first period of expansion the village factories began to close and manufacturing to center in the cities. There was an increased emigration of young people from the villages and the rural parts and this broke up the heretofore stable relations of the rural

neighborhood. This made farming more difficult and the increasing competition with the West, where agriculture was developing, made it less profitable. These and other conditions contributed to the agricultural maladjustment which, in some sections, attained the proportions of a demoralization. The maladjustment reached its extreme point in the depression of 1894–97. Soon after 1900 began those changes in agricultural organization which already have improved farming conditions. So we date the second period of expansion from 1900 to the present time. This is a period of readjustment, of the rise of statewide organizations for scientific farming and coöperative marketing. This second period has just got under way and we do not yet know its outcome.

This book is one of the inductive studies in social psychology referred to in my *Foundations of Social Science*. Like *Our Rural Heritage,* it is primarily descriptive and analytical. Interpretation should be the ultimate aim of any work, but the first requisite for interpretation is a careful analysis of the facts to be interpreted. In addition we need a point of view, by which I mean, not a hard and fast theory for deductive interpretation, but a preparation of the imagination which results from reflection on the facts and leads to a comprehension of their significance. So, in Chapters I and II, I sketch certain processes that enter into the interpretation of much that follows. In a later work I hope to offer a more comprehensive interpretation of rural life.

The work of the social psychologist differs from that of other scientists in requiring for observation and analysis intimate contact with people. There are documentary sources for a study of the psychological processes of rural development, most important of which are the files of the rural newspapers, but these have to be supplemented by a study of the community to which the newspaper belongs. The intensive nature of psychological observation makes extensive studies very slow growths and scarcely within the power of the lone investigator unless he extends his studies over a long period of time. Though I have been studying rural development in this intensive way for twenty-five years, I have only made a beginning. My method has been to make a minute study of a typical community and then to extend the investigation to other communities for the purpose of comparison. I considered that what I learned put me under obligation not to reveal the identity of the various communities.

These communities lie in what were, in the first period, the dairy,

grain and special farming sections of the state. In the second period the specialized crops of the first—hops, tobacco, peppermint—had largely been superseded, the grain acreage had diminished, and other agricultural industries had succeeded them. I have studied, particularly, six typical communities and many others casually. These communities are situated in the Hudson River Valley, in northern New York, and in a region extending from Oneida County in the central part to Niagara County in the extreme western corner. The essential processes of development of these communities are seen also in communities I have studied in farming sections in the Middle West and in the South.

The important records are the files of the village papers and the church records; occasionally there are other documents that give valuable information. In 1924 there were 487 village newspapers in New York, with more or less incomplete files.[1] Ninety-six of these papers are listed as established before 1861 and 167 before 1875. There were 209 more established in the period 1875–1900, and 111 more from 1901 to 1924. As to political affiliation 231 papers were listed as Republican, 83 as Democratic and 161 as independent. The affiliation of the remaining few was not specified. The village paper is the repository for the facts of social behavior of the community. The policy of the papers of the communities studied was to record all the social events that came to the attention of the newspaper staff. Some people notify the newspaper of a dance or a card party held at their home or of their return from a trip, others do not, so that the newspaper report is not complete; but there is no reason for thinking that there is any great divergence in the proportion of events recorded from year to year. In the communities specially studied the editorship of the paper changed once or at most, twice, during the first period so that the newspaper policy seldom changed. In the interpretation of the files of papers the personalities of editors must, of course, be taken into account, and in this connection the testimony of old residents is necessary. For instance, the files of two neighboring villages differ in the amount of news regarding temperance societies and church activities, and we find on inquiry that this signifies not a difference in these activities between the two communities but a difference between the interests of the two editors involved. However the successful editor tried to cover all the news and to be impartial with regard to the churches and other community interests claiming recognition in the paper; wherefore the paper is a fairly faithful record of the

community life. I may add that the files of many village papers are in a deplorable condition, often unbound, decaying and stored where a fire would destroy them. In a number of cases files have actually been destroyed by fire and cannot be replaced. Every village library should contain a set of bound files in a fire-proof depository, and if there is no public library they should be deposited in the school building.

The testimony of old residents is important in connection with the interpretation of documentary sources, and this is not difficult to obtain, for a person of the requisite personality and tact usually finds in a community some one he can interest in his project, who will introduce him to the right people and help him to find the necessary records. It is a fascinating study, this delving into the sociological past of one's state, and the wonder is that it has been so little pursued.

This mass of information cannot be presented in one work because of the greatly increased cost of printing in recent years and the very limited sale of such a technical and expensive work. Consequently, I have written a summary of the findings and, in order to give the book an interesting concreteness I have centered on one typical community, which I shall call "the typical community" as contrasted with other typical communities the data of which I use as a basis for generalizations but to which I refer only casually. This makes it possible to reduce the expense of the book enough to put it within reach of the general reader; and it can be followed by special studies. The ultimate aim of a book of this kind is to awaken the people of the state to the importance of an understanding of their own behavior, past and present, that reason may react upon the past for the sake of progress in the future. Newspaper editors should interpret the meaning of the present in the light of the past, clergymen ought to do this for their congregations, and school teachers for their pupils.

In the study of the various typical communities I have extended my investigations from the one carefully studied in a certain section, to others of that section. For instance, in the hop section I studied one carefully, the one that had the best newspaper files and other records, which was the most important community of the hop section, and then studied others casually. In other sections I followed a similar plan. In the six typical communities studied, the principal cash products in the first period of expansion were, in one community, barley and peppermint; in another, barley and wheat; in another, potatoes, barley and wheat; in another, barley, wheat and corn; in another, barley,

wheat and rye; in another, hops and dairy products. In the second period of expansion the principal cash products were, in the first named community, vegetables and dairy products; in the second, vegetables and dairy products; in the third, potatoes and other vegetables; in the fourth, dairy products, vegetables, fruit and grain; in the fifth, dairy products, vegetables, and grain; in the sixth, dairy products and vegetables.

As to the typical community it is the one studied in my *American Town,* privately printed in 1906. I shall avoid the use of names that might disclose its identity and shall refer to it as Blanktown, to the village in the northern part as Blankville and to its two hamlets as Blankwell and The Center. The latter is the name by which that neighborhood was locally known for a hundred years. The school districts of the town are identical with rural neighborhoods which have existed since the town was settled and I shall designate each of these neighborhoods by the name by which until recently it was locally known. The town is about seven and one-half miles wide, east and west, by about five and one-half miles north and south. Its population was 2272 in 1845, 2913 in 1875, 2318 in 1900, and 2032 in 1915. The population of Blankville was 1560 in 1875 and increased from that year to 2055 in 1892 when it began to decline and reached 1571 in 1900, 1410 in 1910, and 1255 in 1920. The town is situated on a railroad about twenty-two miles from a large city. A valley runs southwest through the town with hill country on each side. There are eleven rural neighborhoods, six of which lie almost wholly in the hill country, while five lie partly in the valley. I shall sometimes refer to the former as the hill neighborhoods and to the latter as the valley neighborhoods.

The rural town is not necessarily identical with the rural community. The town is a civil division while the community is a social group the boundaries of which do not necessarily coincide with those of the town in which it wholly or partly lies. However, much of our documentary sources are for towns so that it is advisable to take the town as the unit of study wherever it roughly coincides with a community. Our typical town is the southern part of a community that centered around the village lying in the northern part of the town. A very small part of the community extended over into the town to the north, but only a small part of the town to the north lay in this community. So I have taken the one town instead of two as representing the typical community.

A typical rural community is one of independent farmers located around a village which is their trading and social center. Their habitat, national descent and kind of agricultural industry must be representative. One of the most important differences among agricultural industries is in the degree of variation in the price received for the product. There is little variation in the farm prices of grain or dairy products as compared with the prices of fruit or hops. As a community that comes nearest to being typical, I have, therefore, selected one in which both an industry with little variation and one with wide variation in prices were important. In the first period of rural expansion the hop industry was more important in this community, in the second period the dairy. In the mint community, barley, used for the manufacture of malt, also was an important crop. Peppermint oil varied from one to five dollars a pound while barley, as seen from Table I in the notes, varied much less. The grain, vegetable and dairy sections of the state did not experience these extreme variations in price, and the social behavior of farmers in those industries did not go to the extreme that it did where there was more or less sudden and extreme prosperity followed by depression. But there is no reason for thinking that, if grain or dairy or vegetable farmers had experienced those economic conditions, they would not have behaved in the same way. In centering on typical communities I am using the method of other sciences. The biologist centers on the typical cell, the social psychologist on the typical group. Of course the determination of what constitutes a typical community in a given population requires a study of many communities by various students, and it is to be hoped that this book will stimulate interest in such investigations.

This book has not been written as a cold scientific investigation but in discharge of what I conceived to be my duty to the people of my state. Our social institutions have developed in a haphazard way, that is, without any carefully conceived plan and I think we owe it to the people of our time, who are born into and live under the sway of these institutions, to turn on them the light of reason, with a view ultimately to changing them into carefully planned means of social progress. In New York the rural population, especially, is in a condition of unrest, which is both justified and inevitable. It is due to the fact that the fortuitously developed institutions no longer adapt the farmer's family to its conditions. Epoch-making changes are taking place and the people have leaders of insight capable of guiding

them through the changes. But the insights of the few must be translated into the plain path for the many; to promote this end is my present purpose. The rank and file of farmers and the public must understand the nature of the changes that should take place. Furthermore, these changes are taking place among other rural populations of North America and Europe. As the nations draw together in trade and politics it is necessary that the various peoples understand each other intimately and these intensive studies of rural populations should be made all over the world and should be incorporated into the public education of each nation. Thus the rural population in each nation may learn of changes going on in other populations, changes not dissimilar in their essential aspects. Furthermore, if history, henceforth, is to be written not in terms of "national events" and official acts but in terms of the behavior of people, there are documents of history yet to be created, and I conceive it to be the duty of the educated man to leave such documents for the use of the historian of the future.

In acknowledging assistance received in this work, three sources of mental stimulus stand out. Professor Franklin H. Giddings twenty-five years ago inspired me to begin these studies and his faith in scientific sociology has been a constant stimulus.[2] Dr. Charles A. Beard instilled a sense of the immense importance of the economic interpretation of society. Finally, to my association with my parents and my sister I owe the idealism, the industry and other attitudes that made this research possible.

In the preparation of this book I have had the generous assistance of a number of people and the unconscious aid of many others. Members of the staff of the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University and of the Geneva Experiment Station of the State College have kindly discussed a number of points with me and have answered many questions. In a similar way I am indebted to the editors of the American Agriculturist and the Rural New-Yorker and to officials of the New York State Federation of County Farm Bureau Associations, of the Patrons of Husbandry of the State of New York and of the Dairymen's League Coöperative Association. At the conventions of the agricultural organizations of the state and at the annual gathering of farmers at Cornell I have discussed agricultural problems with the farmers, and at the annual meeting of the county agents of the Farm Bureau I have discussed with them the problems of their counties. Rural school teachers, district superintendents and clergymen also have been consulted. My students from the rural dis-

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JAMES M. WILLIAMS

Geneva, N. Y.

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PART I

THE PERIOD OF MALADJUSTMENT AND INDIVIDUALISM

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CHAPTER I

EARLY RURAL LIFE AND THE NATIONAL LIFE

RURAL attitudes predominantly determined the behavior of the people of the state of New York and of the nation up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. At that time the development of manufactures was stimulating the growth of large centers of population and the cities had begun to throw their shadow over the nation. Other than rural attitudes had begun to shape the national life. This change signifies a natural division in our viewpoint for the interpretation of rural development. The present chapter will set forth certain aspects of early rural life which have had a pronounced effect on the national life, while the next will indicate certain features of village and city life that affected the later rural development. The chapters taken together set forth a viewpoint for the interpretation of the expansion of rural life which is described in the succeeding chapters of this book.

At the outset it is necessary to recall certain conceptions which should serve as a background of our thought. We shall write largely of social attitudes and ideas. An attitude is a pronounced tendency toward a certain way of reacting. When several people have the same tendency it is a social attitude. Social attitudes are forms of action that are less obvious than some other forms but that are, nevertheless, positive. That is, the members of a group as such are set to react in certain ways. Ideas are subordinate in the rural mind to attitudes. This book, which deals with social change, gives a more prominent place to ideas than did *Our Rural Heritage*. However, the ideas that gather voltage in a rural population are those that ride the crest of deep-seated attitudes. Attitudes are, then, more or less fixed responses, very often with respect to particular social situations. Attitudes are related to still more basic modes of behavior called dispositions, as ways in which the disposition acts whenever opportunity offers.[1] Dispositions are forms of behavior the nature of which is disputed among psychologists.[2] However the dispositions may ultimately be conceived, the con-

ception of them as fundamental urges and variablegeneral patterns of behavior is adequate for our present purpose.

While all these processes occur only in individual minds, individuals are group made, in the sense that they share the attitudes that determine the behavior of the groups in which they live. At the same time we must bear in mind what was just said about the more or less plastic urges in human nature. These vary between individuals and cause variations in group attitudes. Also members of the same group develop different personal attitudes, and the old adage that "It takes all kinds of people to make a world" has been true of the rural community as well as of other groups. For instance, one finds in a rural neighborhood farmers who "are always grumbling about their hard luck" and others who despise this self-pity and declare, "I don't think we ought to think we are worse off than other people." While the tendency is for the exemplars of a group to have the staunch attitude rather than the other and, therefore, for this to become the group attitude, yet both are found in the same community, sometimes in the same family. We cannot, therefore, draw any hard and fast line between group attitudes and personal attitudes. The attitudes of a community constantly tend to change under the influence of outstanding people. But there are people whose essential dispositions differ so much from the prevailing ones—for instance, unusually sympathetic people—that their personal attitudes differ in a pronounced way from the attitudes of their groups.

The attitudes of a group, that is, those that prevail so widely in behavior as to exert a decided social pressure, are articulated in a more or less closely related whole, which may be called a configuration. A configuration is more than a complex of attitudes but this is the aspect of it with which we are here concerned. Though it is a formation of the individual mind we are not to think of this, or of any other process of individual experience, as private and isolated "because dispositions and attitudes are always toward or from things beyond themselves." [8] Furthermore, people characterized by the same complex of attitudes think, feel, and act more or less in the same way and are conscious of their likeness and of their distinctness, as a group, from outsiders. The individual has distinct we-feelings with reference to his family, his community, his nation. He thinks of each of these groups as distinctly his, because the attitudes that characterize the members are his also. This pronounced we-feeling depends, of course, on the degree in which the attitudes that characterize a group

absorb the behavior of the individual to the exclusion of contrary personal impulses.

The period covered in *Our Rural Heritage* was one in which social attitudes were pronounced in contrast with personal impulses. The family and neighborhood configurations were distinct and compelling in the behavior of the individual. The virtues extolled by the nation were in good part attitudes or, more properly, sentiments,[4] that is, conscious and cherished attitudes, of the isolated neighborhood of families. When the neighborhood came into contact with the outside world of business and pleasure, then the attitudes that united members of families and neighbors weakened and the morality not only of these groups but of the nation began to change. Chapter III will set forth certain characteristics of the old morality.

The old morality was that of neighborhoods of farmers' families. The business side of economic life was very primitive. The farmer's activity was largely a matter of contact with physical nature. Now certain dispositions are involved primarily, but not exclusively, in the cultivation of the soil; others primarily, but not exclusively, in relations with persons. Contact with nature gives play to certain dispositions and develops attitudes that are more or less closely articulated in a physical or nature configuration. In like manner reactions to a group of people give play to certain dispositions and develop attitudes that are articulated in a social configuration. So there are particular physical configurations and particular social configurations. The mountaineer develops a configuration to which only his own particular mountain region conforms;[5] the farmer, a configuration to which only his own particular farming region conforms. Nothing attracts a mountaineer to a visitor so much as to be told that "this is the most wonderful mountain country in the world"; and nothing attracts a farmer to a visitor in his section so much as the knowledge that the visitor is attracted by the land of the region and declares it superior to any other. The mountaineer's configuration centers of course on his own personal domain and the farmer's on his own farm.

In the farmer's nature configuration, land has a central place. This explains the so-called "land instinct" of the farmer. Especially in the early days was the farmer attached to his own particular land. His concern was to add to it, but, above all, after he had got a good farm he wanted to keep it intact. Sometimes he tried to fix his will in a way to keep it intact after he died. To an outsider who can see only the economic side of the situation, that is, the value of the land as a

bit of capital for production, this sentiment of the farmer for his land is perplexing. It can be explained only as the essential object of his nature configuration. Sometimes the heirs to a piece of land had a lawsuit or a series of lawsuits that extended over years, and the difference ultimately resolved into a question of sentiment, one heir wishing to keep the ancestral estate intact, that is, to keep it "in the family" that no man not bearing the family name might own any of it, another wishing to break it up.

Land is the essential requisite for food and wealth getting, which are carried on according to certain attitudes—industry, persistence, and others mentioned in *Our Rural Heritage*. These determine the viewpoint of the farmer, which, because of its negative social attributes, has been termed individualistic. The nature configuration is essential in that viewpoint and attitudes to nature are transmuted into attitudes to people. Especially in the early farmer, persistent attack on nature showed itself in a persistence in dealings with other farmers and in bringing them to terms. Construction in inanimate materials showed itself in a use of people to gain material ends. The farmer did not dominate his family just for the sake of forcing submission, as do heads of families in a militaristic nation where they learn domination during compulsory military service. The farmer's domination was incidental to the family's attack on nature as a unit in which he was the organizing head, and he felt hurt to have his directions taken as a mere display of domination.

The deflection of attitudes from nature to associates was inevitable because of the prominence of the physical configuration in the farmer's character. It seemed to him that, after all, the life close to nature, the strong action, the production of solid material results, was the life worth while. Social life was all right for relaxation, but what man lived for was to do a man's work, to produce material results. This was what gave meaning to life. This sentiment passed into the national life and made for material achievement. The excessively social characterization of certain European nations does not make either for the most successful agriculture or for the most efficient industry or even for the most productive scholarship.

This pronounced physical configuration of the early farmer is not to be confused with the attitude for adventure that characterized a certain class of pioneers. From talks with sons of men who settled New York and with settlers of Iowa it is clear that what the settlers were after was cheaper and better land than could be had in the place

of emigration. In addition to these settlers there were often pioneers who had the spirit of adventure, who wanted land less than they wanted adventure, and who, therefore, took to horse or cattle trading or some other form of speculation on the frontier. The settlers who migrated into the wilderness, usually in family groups, quite often got the impetus to start from one of these adventurers who took the lead in all the perilous undertakings on the march and after arrival and whose recklessness often got the whole group into trouble. Those who followed them were less after adventure than land. Usually all were men who liked to get away from crowded centers.

The settlers wanted land because they were mighty workers. They could use land to get results. They were descendants of the men and women of unusual energy who had had the initiative to leave Europe to hew their homes out of the New World wilderness. To this day American farmers compare favorably in work power with those of Europe. This energy was carried into industry, business and the professions. Our workmen in factory and mine work more intensely than in any country in the world and the standard of energy in business and the professions is higher. This excessive energy is one cause of the keen rivalry in work and pleasure that will be noted later.

Essential in the nature configuration of the farmer was an attitude of industry in the cultivation of the soil. This was connected with various other nature attitudes among which were the weather attitudes. The farmer's dependence on the weather for success in cultivation affected his industry in two ways. First, it operated to intensify industriousness for, as he said, "if you have a bad spell of weather, the only thing to do is to work a little harder to make up for it." Second, it operated to inhibit industry. Thus, during a spell of bad weather, the thwarted industry caused the farmer to worry unless worry was avoided by resignation. This attitude the farmer aroused by some such phrase as, "Man proposes but God disposes," or by dwelling on the tenets of his religion. The prominence of the resignation attitude in the farmer's configuration is one essential reason for rural conservatism. It is, of course, not due entirely to the weather for other conditions as well have made for resignation and indifference to projects of agricultural advancement.

We shall find this thrusting forward of attitudes into situations to which they do not apply to be one of the essential processes of rural psychology. And that is another cause of rural conservation. For instance, acquisition of wealth involved the careful cultivation of a

crop and then its protection from rodents and the weather, and this attitude to defend his ownership determined the farmer's behavior generally. It became a deep-laid sentiment that one should never yield to efforts to take away anything that belongs to one. Injustice came to be considered as a taking of one's rightful property. One should never yield to injustice. This sentiment strengthened the farmer courageously to resist injustice in his neighborhood relations, but his lack of intelligence narrowed him when he had to face the larger questions of injustice that arose with changing economic relations. Often he was intent on resisting some petty injustice, while ignoring the larger injustices he was suffering as a result of new economic relations to which he was a party, but of the nature and the remoter consequences of which he was ignorant.

The prominence of the nature configuration and the thrusting forward of attitudes into situations to which they do not apply are, then, two essential causes of rural conservatism. Rural conservatism has had an immense influence on our national life, as will become evident particularly in Part II of this book.

To return to the two general approaches to life, the physical and the social, we note that people who are predominantly in contact with nature are apt to lack the attitudes that fit them for smoothly getting on with people. They are not particularly fond of being with any people except their few intimates. They do not like solitude itself but they like the freedom of solitude. For, being with people requires a finer and more thoughtful adjustment than the freedom of solitude. So people who are predominantly in contact with nature are apt to acquire the habit of ignoring associates a good deal and insisting on freedom to work as they please so far as others are concerned. This prepares us to understand another important influence of the rural population on our national life. And again it is through the predominance in their psychological background of the physical or nature configuration. Among the attitudes of the farmer that passed into our national life was the attitude of liberty, in the sense of an individualistic disregard of others in the pursuit of a material purpose. Because the nature configuration was pronounced in the farmer, in his social approach to people he regarded them with a kind of awkwardness, a self-distrust, a feeling of not being at home, of losing time from work when merely meeting people socially. He was at home only with his few neighborhood intimates, possibly only in his family circle. The farmer did not have to say anything when in the

company of intimates. They could be ignored. He did not want to be alone. He wanted to know his family was there. He wanted his wife always to be at home. "Woman's place is in the home." But he was mostly moved by his attitudes to nature. He wanted to be let alone and to be free to work as he pleased. This attitude of liberty, which is distinct from freedom, passed into our national life.

The early farmer had also social configurations. He had a family configuration; but, as shown in *Our Rural Heritage,* the attitudes of the nature configuration determined, to a considerable extent, the father's attitude to wife and children. He had also a neighborhood configuration. This involved a consciousness of a number of familiar families that lived in a certain small area and had much the same beliefs and attitudes, these being largely determined by the economic conditions of the farmer. Even the artisan, the doctor, the manufacturer had these neighborhood attitudes that were largely of agricultural origin. Thus the nature configuration determined to a considerable degree the attitudes of the neighborhood. However, the early farmer, in whom nature attitudes predominated, had a side to his nature that was not satisfied thereby and so he enjoyed the neighborhood gatherings and Sunday meeting. He was subject to a religious control of selfishness, as will be shown in the succeeding chapter, so that he did not go to such an extreme in selfishness as does the modern money maker. But his preoccupation with nature did give his behavior an individualism which was transmuted into modern industrial relations and gave them an exceedingly crude aspect.

The sentiment of liberty is more pronounced among American than European farmers, doubtless owing to the abundance of cheap land in early America; for land ownership is the essential condition of rural independence. When we speak of the American sentiment of liberty we are apt to confuse it with political freedom, and assuredly the American experience of European autocracies did intensify our zest for political independence and isolation in the first decades of the Republic. The conception of political freedom determined the ideas of political leaders and writers, but the sense of liberty of the mass of the people originated as we have described. It was an attitude produced by the economic and social conditions of the isolated cultivator of the soil. The trail of the frontier from New England across the continent doubtless left its stamp on our liberty but, as stated in the Preface, I am not dealing with the frontier. The American farmer differed from other farmers in the ease with which

he could acquire land and in his isolation. While farmers of all nations were preoccupied with the land and subject to much the same weather and other physical conditions, the outstanding characteristic of the American farmer was his sense of liberty, his individualistic disregard of others, even of other farmers, in his attention to his own farm occupations. This attitude prevails today throughout the farming population. Among Danish farmers who have immigrated to the United States, one sometimes sees two different attitudes,—on the one hand the comradely attitude toward other farmers of the same circle that is so pronounced among the farmers of Denmark but which is rarely found among American farmers toward one another, and, on the other hand, the independent, self-centered attitude which they display toward American farmers with whom they have come in touch in America. The American attitude persists in spite of its futility in view of the new business relations of modern agriculture.

This sentiment of liberty had a number of conscious aspects. Indeed, it seems to have been differentiated into distinct sentiments which gave distinct trends to rural behavior in important matters. First, there was a sentiment of economic independence. In virtue of his ownership of his land, animals, and implements of production, the farmer felt independent of other men. He was conscious of his independence and frequently referred to it as the great advantage of farming. Second, he had a sentiment of liberty in social intercourse. He did not want to have to attend social functions or to see people except when he "took a notion." Third, he had a sentiment for freedom from political regulation, an attitude of free enterprise. He did not want the government to interfere with his work. Fourth, he had a sentiment for freedom from education. He did not want anybody, not even experts, to tell him how to raise his crops. "A man may have any amount of book learning but you can't make a success of farming unless you have had experience." This implied that he, the man of experience, did not need book learning.

These sentiments of the early farmer have persisted to this day, though they are now weakening. The American farmer is known to his European brethren by these various sentiments of liberty, and Europeans feel that these sentiments distinguish him from them. For instance, the Danish famers, who are said to be the richest farmers in the world,[7] do not believe in the American attitude of independence of other men.[8] They say that, on the contrary, farmers must cooperate with the merchant and the banker. They do not believe in his

social independence. They say that the farmer must coöperate with all other elements of the rural community to develop a satisfying community life. They do not believe in his desire for freedom from governmental regulation. They say that farmers should coöperate with the government for the public welfare and, in turn, should expect the government to coöperate with them for the advancement of agriculture, for instance, by the administration of the railways to further agricultural prosperity. Finally, they do not at all agree with the American farmer's attitude toward book farming. Says Professor Branson, describing a sojourn among the farmers of Denmark, "This morning I was the guest of a *gaarmand,* or middle-class farmer, in his nearby country home. His newspaper rack looks like the file of a commercial club in America, and the books on his library shelves are as many as mine in Chapel Hill. 'I understand,' said he, 'that the farmers of the United States do not think much of book-farming; we have learned better than that in Denmark.' " [9]

The sentiment of liberty was an attitude of the nature configuration. It was essential in the configuration of farmers as a class. Farmers thought of it as characterizing "us farmers." It meant less a liberty to do as they pleased than a liberty to work as they pleased, because they were at first so forced by the necessity of hard work that liberty was narrowly circumscribed by another attitude, that of self-restraint. All impulses that interfered with successful work had to be restrained. Of course there were farmers who lacked self-restraint. There were those who had no pronounced inclination to work but were socially inclined. As boys, they had been averse to hard work, had naturally sought their kind, and often had become dissipated in spite of parental control. Mothers sometimes made home-brew to keep these boys away from bad companions but found that it was not entirely for home-brew that they sought such companionship. The attitude of liberty in the rural community encouraged socially inclined boys to seek to be free of restraint in social enjoyment, as it encouraged the austere to seek to be free of restraint in acquisition. So there was a conflict between the attitudes of free enjoyment and self-restraint, within the individual himself, between the father and his socially inclined boys, and between the austere and the convivial people of the community. In the early days austerity prevailed. The sentiment of liberty did not make for free enjoyment. Nevertheless, as the economic stress eased, the sentiment asserted itself as a

force for a minimum of inhibition on the various dispositions. A disposition is an urge to act in a certain way whenever inhibition is removed, and a sentiment of liberty begets an inclination to "give leave" to a diversity of dispositions.[10] This inclination develops when the environmental conditions offer a variety of opportunities for the release of dispositions. As the farmer's physical environment became less rigorous in its demands, the attitude of self-restraint weakened, and, with the rise of the second generation from the settlers and still more with the third, liberty came to mean freer enjoyment.

The farmer boys who went from the farms into business and the professions maintained to some degree the rural attitudes that were so prominent in the farmer's physical configuration. Manufacturers have a physical configuration, the objects of which are the plant, the machinery and raw materials of production, and workmen declare that the manufacturer should not take the same attitudes to his workmen that he takes to machinery and raw materials. Workmen also have a physical configuration. For "what they have often used to accomplish results becomes a part of their active self." [11] The factory workman often takes pleasure in explaining to visitors the machinery and the products of the factory and dwells especially on points that emphasize its superiority, but he becomes strangely silent on questions involving ownership. In a strike, however, the workmen justify their effort to prevent other workmen from taking places they have left, on the ground that the latter have no right to a place in which they themselves have worked so long that it has become a part of their lives.[12] "The works" is for them as truly the objective aspect of a physical configuration as for the owner of the works, more so if the owner lives in a distant place and never sees the works. The works symbolizes that complex of habits and attitudes that determines the behavior of workmen during most of their waking hours.

Both the farmer and those engaged in manufacturing industry, therefore, have physical configurations but there are important differences between these. In the farmer's configuration nature with its processes of growth is essential; and he is conscious of mystery behind nature, which makes him naturally religious, while manufacturers and workmen are concerned with mere buildings, machinery, raw materials, with nothing mysterious behind them. There is another essential difference between the farmer and factory workmen. The farmer "directs the operation of a farm." [13] He plans and directs the work of his own enterprise. Consequently his physical configura-

tion means more to him than the works mean to the workman. The workman does not own the machinery and tools with which he works. He takes orders from a boss and his behavior is regulated by petty rules. Even one who bosses those below him is subordinate to those above. The nearer a workman gets to becoming a practically independent boss, the more his physical configuration means to him and the more enthusiastic he becomes in his explanation of the works. But there is still a great gulf between his position and that of ownership. His position is entirely different from that of the farmer who owns his farm.

Farmers differ from manufacturers in the greater prominence of the physical configuration in their lives. The farmer is mostly in contact with physical nature while the manufacturer is concerned with his competitors. This relation with competitors and also the manufacturer's more prominent relation with his many workmen tend to develop in the manufacturer certain dispositions that are less pronounced in the farmer. The aggressive farmer stimulates rivalry among his boys and hired men and dominates them in furtherance of his material purpose; even more extremely does the aggressive employer force his men in the interest of profits. With the growth of manufacturing, the unusually aggressive managers have come to the top. They are supported by stockholders because they increase dividends. Stockholders and managers have lost personal touch with the mass of workmen and have become centered on profits. Industrial management has come to assume an autocratic aspect which was foreign to economic relations in the days of our rural heritage. But the sentiment of liberty is still alive, and is turned by employers to their own account. When legislation against monopoly began to be advocated for the protection of consumers and when labor legislation began to be advocated for the protection of labor, monopolists appealed, in defence of their business methods, to the national sentiment for free enterprise, and invoked constitutional guarantees. The sentiment was antecedent to the guarantees. When great factory and mining populations had come under masterful employers and had long been in economic subjection, their subjection began to modify their individualism—for workmen as well as employers at first have the American individualism—and they began to develop a new configuration, that of the union of workmen for collective self-help. Farmers, also, are likely to cease to be individualists when they become conscious of their subjection to the capitalistic interests on which they depend for capital and for the

marketing of their products. This experience modifies the individualism acquired under the previous economic conditions and prepares the way for a coöperative configuration. Employers, when they begin to feel the power of organized labor, either become vehement in their individualism or develop an attitude favoring coöperation between capital and labor.

The sentiment of liberty serves not only as a justification of autocratic industrial control, as indicated in the preceding paragraph, but also as a justification of resistance to autocracy. As such, it has affected every aspect of American social organization. Whenever a husband goes too far in domination of his family the resistful wife may object with the exclamation, "This is a free country!" The sentiment of liberty has done much for the emancipation of woman in America. In political organization, resistance to boss rule arouses a response in public sentiment because boss rule is contrary to the attitude of liberty. Our economic organization differs from that of the militarisms of continental Europe in that the attitude of liberty has encouraged an aversion to landlordism and a strong sentiment for the ownership of farms by the cultivators of the soil, a resistance to employer domination as seen in our vigorous trade union movement, and a resistance to domination of one employer over another, as seen in the movement against monopoly. Public sentiment is stirred against monopoly because monopoly makes free competition impossible. Consequently the most effective popular argument of apologists for monopoly is that independents are doing business; and one of the most effective means taken by a monopoly to quiet public hostility is the maintenance of apparently independent enterprises.

The point is, then, that sentiment, rather than understanding, has determined the thinking of our people, including the rural population. It is accordingly not strange that the development of our institutions has been a good deal in opposition to the sentiment of liberty, for sentiment without understanding in the long run is not very effective against well organized economic interests captained by understanding leaders. How to deal with monopoly, for instance, requires more understanding than people moved by the mere sentiment of liberty are capable of intelligently employing. In general public opinion is largely a functioning of traditional attitudes, and of emotional attitudes stirred by the press, not a result of inductive study and reflection.

CHAPTER II

THE REACTION OF CITY AND VILLAGE ON RURAL LIFE

AMERICAN individualism developed out of the great adventure, that is, the settlement of the New World and the conversion of forest and prairie into fertile fields. The traditions of Protestant Europe, particularly Puritan Europe, which were carried by the emigrants to the New World, were by no means contrary to American individualism. The Calvinistic doctrines of the family and of religion adjusted the settler's family to its environment. The farmer ruled rigorous self-restraint into his children and submitted to as rigorous a God. The church sanctioned self-restraint and repressed "unprofitable" pleasures. This was in line with liberty which, in the early days, meant not free enjoyment but independent ownership of land, free enterprise, concentration on work and self-restraint to that end.

The second great adventure was the development of transportation, mining and manufacturing. This resulted in the growth of villages and cities. Machinery did not affect the farmer as much as it did other economic groups, but it gave him a greater variety of goods and social contacts and he produced for a wider market. Those most affected were workers in manufacturing, mining and transportation. They became entirely dependent on employers. The result was a passing among them of the attitudes of the free farmer, which they had brought from the rural districts. We began to hear less of self-reliance and more of "pull," that is, pleasing an employer in order to hold a job. Among the more ambitious employers there developed the attitude of trying to get as much as possible out of workmen. This showed itself, among other ways, in an employer's averseness to showing a workman that he was pleased. The idea was that when a workman saw that his employer was pleased he would let up a little. This attitude of refusing to acknowledge that a workman had done well was equivalent to compelling him to exert himself without any let-up, that is, an attitude of domination. This sometimes was

the attitude of the farmer to his boys but it was alleviated by the relation of father and son.

Thus there developed in the cities the diverse attitudes of the capitalistic employer and non-propertied workmen. Workmen had a sense of irresponsibility because they were merely part of an industrial machine and could throw down their tools when the day's work was done. The employer of a mass of such workmen developed a somewhat extreme sense of responsibility. The line of progress lies in the direction of a form of industrial organization in which workmen shall share responsibility with the employer. And this is being developed by the most advanced labor unions.[1] But for the indefinite future, it seems, there will be this great divergence between the rural condition of farm operators each with a sense of responsibility, and the city condition of a mass of more or less irresponsible workmen, with all this implies as to differences in social attitudes. The rural population will continue to be made up of many independent operators of farms while the city population will include a comparatively few men who have independence and responsibility in the broad sense, as compared with many who look to an employer for a job and whose responsibility is limited to the performance of a definite daily task assigned and performed under the direction of a superior.

In factory work the attitudes of persistence and ingenuity were less in evidence than on the farm because work consisted of the tending of machines. Men not only worked with machinery but also got their recreation from machinery. They did not have to be as resourceful in work or in recreation as farmers; they tended to become irresponsible machine tenders. But among thoughtful workmen, interest began to center in the power behind the machine organization. Among farmers it still centered in the power behind the weather. This represented a divergence of attitudes of great importance. Those who know the farmer realize the truth of Mark Twain's observation: "Folks talk a good deal about the weather but they don't seem to do very much about it." Among thoughtful factory workmen there developed an inclination to do something about the power behind the machine organization. City workers have less resignation than rural people; though submissive to employers, their submission differs from resignation to inexorable natural processes. As the effect of the weather resignation was seen in every aspect of rural life—in the family, in education, in religion, in politics and especially in rural morality,—so the effect of the passing of it has begun to affect all as-

pects of social organization. Not only has it passed in the cities but now even the farmer is losing his weather resignation as he becomes conscious that his prosperity depends on something besides the weather. He, too, is becoming interested in the power behind economic organization. This interest is, of course, limited to workmen and farmers capable of the interest indicated. The rank and file of workmen seem merely to surrender themselves to the machine process in work and to the increased variety of enjoyments. Except in case of people capable of mental initiative, the machine merely accentuates the objective, material side of life and reduces the subjective and resourceful side to the vanishing point.

The rise of modern industry brought men more into contact with their fellows and so accentuated social as contrasted with nature configurations. Among the dispositions thus given greater realization, the most important is rivalry. Rivalry is not merely socially facilitated activity.[2] The early farmer was stimulated by his neighbor in industrious work. His industry was socially facilitated but not necessarily rivalrous. Rivalry is a striving to excel others in some kind of activity and to win social recognition of superiority therein.[3] This disposition, as it works out in behavior, is, therefore, a distinctly social process, as compared with the attitude of liberty, though, to be sure, we may have a rivalry in anything, even in a conspicuous insistence on liberty. The liberty of America encouraged rivalry, for a man was less likely to rely on his family for his social recognition, or to be discouraged because of membership in a family of low standing than in European countries. The attitude of liberty stimulated one to acquire the means of superiority as an individual.

The excessive rivalry of America is due primarily to the favorable economic conditions, to the energy of the people and to the absence of relatively fixed social classes. As to the latter, our villages developed their "codfish" aristocracies but these people had a hard time of it surrounded as they were with a rollicking, rivalrous population. Though more or less "kowtowed to" by the rivalrous business and professional men of the villages, who wanted their patronage, their exclusive attitude was ridiculed, their failure to join in civic enterprises was condemned and the townspeople echoed the progressive citizen who declared that "what this town needs is a few high-toned funerals." The spirit of America did not tend to recognize mere status. Of course this spirit is essential to a progressive civilization. But rivalry went further than this. The impulse was to prove one's personal power

to make money, to feel that no degree of material success was too high to aspire to. Whatever the professed religious beliefs, the attitudes of liberty and rivalry for superiority became the deep sentiments of American life. As liberty developed distinct attitudes to economic life, to education, to politics, to social life, so did rivalry, and this development began to change the social organization.

We must emphasize the distinction between social facilitation of activities and rivalry. The early American was industriously centered on wringing wealth from the soil. Wealth-producing qualities of character were the essential evidences of superiority and were, therefore, objectives of rivalry. But, in the early days, rivalry was a casual process and more essential was the social facilitation of industry by the example of neighbors. The pursuit of material advantage was intensified by others' pursuit of it. Things are given an increased value when others are intent on them. When two farmers were intent on getting the same wealth, as a tree on the boundary line, the process was competition. Competition means an impulse to get something that another is bent on obtaining, while rivalry involves an impulse for recognized superiority. Of course the two processes are closely connected, for getting something that another is seeking is likely to bring with it recognition of superiority over the other. But often we find competition without rivalry. The aim is just to get something that another is after without any conscious desire for recognition. Where the latter develops, a person is likely to be mindful of the public in his trying to get something that another is after. He avoids behavior that would surely win condemnation instead of recognition of superiority. Among the early rural population the physical environment was the main object of interest and, too often, when aggressive wealth seekers came into competition, their behavior was unmodified by desire for recognition; later, in the villages and cities, when mere possession of wealth won recognition, rivalry simply intensified competition. The aim was to get more and more wealth, for social recognition depended on superiority in possessions, with little or no consideration of how they were acquired. So competition and rivalry coalesced in one and the same process, and made the pursuit of wealth an individualistic obsession.

In the early days rivalry was incidental to the acquisitive attitude to nature. Farmer boys casually rivalled each other in the course of the day's work. When farmers became well-to-do, they naturally felt superior to those who were not, but rivalry did not determine at-

titudes as pervasively as in villages and cities. The automobile has stimulated rivalry among farmers by causing them more often to see one another's crops and by involving them in village rivalry. However, in the rural community where everybody knows everybody else, and especially where all are engaged in the same occupation, it is difficult to get away from personal qualities as the basic objectives of rivalry. Possessions and good crops are considered as indications of a good farmer. A man who hires a farm manager and does nothing himself, either as a farmer or a leader in the community, has no particularly high standing in the community, though he may have a kind of prestige as a wealthy man. So there is not, in the rural districts today, the kind of rivalry one finds in cities, where people do not know each other personally, and are engaged in many different occupations so that common standards of personal ability are impossible, and where superiority in possessions, as judged by externals, goes a long way in determining social prestige.

Between the city and the farming population, psychologically, lies the village. Up to the first period of expansion its attitudes were largely rural. But its occupations were largely city occupations and the attention of villagers was towards the city and away from the country. Consequently when local industries began to spring up in the villages and the manufacturers, merchants and professional men began to become more prosperous, a rivalry in possessions developed. The first period of expansion was the great period of village life. Local industries were springing up. Merchants and manufacturers were prosperous. The impulse to make money was keener than ever before. One finds in the files of the village papers of this period editorials on money,—how women love to spend it and how men like the look of a fat pocket-book even though it belongs to somebody else. This spirit spread to the rural districts. Farmer boys and girls gathered from the attitudes of their parents that success in life meant financial success. Many stories are told that illustrate this centering on money. A farmer sold his cash crop for a good price, had payment made in dollar bills, filled a sack with them, drove home with the sack and emptied its contents on the kitchen floor with the exclamation, "There, boys, you've always said you'd like to wallow in money. Go ahead and wallow in it." Money was the great object of interest. Another was political position. Men used political office to make money more openly than they do today. Along with this impulsive aspect of life the self-restraint of the early days persisted and in the first

years of the first period of expansion we find editorials in the village papers inveighing against the "rottenness" among politicians and business men, "the extravagance and wild speculation, greed for gain and for fashionable display." This was before the full-blown village prosperity and was said with the cities in mind. Then speculation and display developed in the most prosperous villages, and the village papers ceased to inveigh against it.

Those who were giving way to the growing impulse for money were wont to declare that what most men seek is more income, that men think first of larger profits and higher salary. To this assertion some high-minded man or woman might retort: "So you think the question of higher pay is all there is to it! You'd sell yourself to the highest bidder, would you!" While people would not assent to that statement of the matter, it was believed that men were coming more and more to center their attention on making money and would do what was necessary to achieve their end, though they would stop short of doing "wrong." Wrong had a vague meaning. It generally meant violating the law. Men generally would not break the law in their eagerness to make money but the finer moral feelings, a sense of fairness, a keen sense of justice in a particular case, seemed less in evidence than formerly. This is not "Marxian materialism"; it is American materialism. This village prosperity was the first gush of a new reservoir of wealth and material well-being, that had been long accumulating and was now unequally distributed among an unthinking people. Such an efflorescence of materialism at once heightens our interest in the economic interpretation of rural development, and we shall test this theory concretely in the succeeding chapters.

Let us recollect at this point two important aspects of our rural heritage, the attitude for free enjoyment and the attitude of self-restraint. The attitude for free enjoyment did not lack for champions, among the convivial people, even in the early days, but the morality of that time was a morality of self-restraint. It centered around the daily work. The exemplary citizens were not rich men but mighty workers. The virtues had a more or less intimate relation to efficiency for work. No man was by his social station raised above the common lot of daily work. Not all mighty workers were successful farmers, for farming required judgment as well as industry, but all successful farmers were workers. The morality of the time included that complex of attitudes and beliefs that fitted a man to be strong and self-restrained, to work without ceasing, and to meet

without complaining whatever hardships might be encountered. These virtues were worked into the characters of the children as they did their part in the fields with their fathers or in the kitchen with their mothers. This moral vigor and this method of inculcating it were the great facts in our rural heritage. Now with economic prosperity the attitude for free enjoyment asserted itself. The exemplary citizens were no longer mighty workers, necessarily, but successful money makers. While most business and professional men were only moderately well-to-do, and constant attention to work was required, certain of them made a good deal of money and these were the ones who caught the popular imagination. A system of morality is not something given ready made; it is developed by a people in the course of the struggle for subsistence, for self-realization and for social adjustment. When the second generation from the settlers had come to maturity the struggle for subsistence was over, but the people had not yet considered what self-realization meant. The young people of this generation felt their new freedom and were in a position to be moved from the old moorings, and the behavior of the conspicuous money makers moved them mightily. The system of morality that had thus far constituted the frame-work of society was to some extent discredited. The successful and their families, on whom the popular adulation centered, of course professed the traditional morality. They were particularly fond of making conspicuous certain attitudes, for instance, thrift. The women talked of their economies and the men liked to profess their aversion to the extravagance of their wives. Many stories illustrating this are still current in the villages. For instance, during a prosperous period of "dollar wheat" a manufacturer, the hearty, forceful type of those days, accompanied his wife and daughter on a trip to New York. They inveigled him into a fur shop and began to look at sealskin cloaks. Finally, the wife ventured to ask the price of one. "Six hundred dollars," replied the clerk.

"What!" exclaimed the manufacturer at the startled clerk. "Six hundred bushels of wheat for that thing!" Of course he told of this incident after his return home and stories like this were repeated with great gusto by the villagers.

The successful men professed the traditional attitudes but, at the same time, too often discredited their profession by their manner of life. After all they liked the wife to have the sealskin cloak and were not averse to having it known how much it cost. While professing thrift they liked to have people know that they were above the common

necessity of extreme thrift. They also liked to display that they were above the common burden of daily work, by having the work in the home done by servants and by hiring a man to do the work around the house. Their children, brought up in idleness, cultivated the talk, ideas, manners, pastimes and amusements of a leisure class. Boys were enjoined to aim high financially, and girls were given a finishing school education that made them useless ornaments. And the point is that the example of these exemplary families influenced the rank and file of the people. There developed alongside the morality of our rural heritage, the tap-root of which was the habit of hard daily work, a contrary morality, that is, a complex of ideas and attitudes of the financially superior, of people absorbed in speculation and "on the lookout for easy money," given to spending money, to social rivalry and display, to self-indulgence and ease. This new social influence was by no means unchallenged. There were still strong men and women throughout the population. Many money makers maintained the old attitudes. They were not ambitious to be recognized as monied men but lived as before and worked as hard. But the tendency was to want recognition, especially among the villagers. If the man did not want it his wife did, and this naturally took the direction of displaying that one was above work and could afford the enjoyments of a leisure class. During the past fifty years the influence of those inclined toward the soft life has more and more permeated the population and has affected every aspect of morality—family morality, the morality of economic relations, the morality of community relations and politics. A change in our morality was inevitable, owing to changing economic and social conditions. But the change that came was not a constructive change.

There was a change also in the religious life of the community. The farmer was not only a worker; his life close to nature made him a religious man. He was entirely dependent on the weather. He was conscious of unknown natural forces on which he depended for his prosperity. He felt a superior power behind nature. His attitude in shrewd dealings was different from his attitude in the cultivation of his crops, though crop attitudes were sometimes transmuted into business relations. His character was predominantly determined by his nature configuration. In the lucky money maker, on the other hand, the shrewd attitude was essential. He was not conscious in his shrewd dealings of contact with natural forces or of the power behind nature. His economic relations did not much foster a humble sense of a supe-

rior power. With every lucky stroke of business he felt that *he* did it, so that success in money making magnified self. So the business attitude weakened religious feeling, although, for various reasons, money makers were foremost in support of the churches. It is sometimes said that the break-down of our morality is due to the passing of belief in the religious doctrines which sanctioned morality. It is due to economic prosperity, to the passing of the worker and the religious man as the ultimate social exemplar and the winning of that position by the lucky money maker. The worker was deficient in thoughtfulness, so his system of morality lacked adaptability to changing conditions. The money maker was deficient in thoughtfulness and was obsessed by rivalry for superiority. The reconstruction of morality depends on the dissemination of thoughtfulness and self-control throughout the population. Thoughtfulness requires use not only of intellect but also sympathy. Intellect must mould sympathy into the ruling disposition of the personal life. The social exemplars who would construct a new morality must free themselves from the generally accepted standards of superiority and become absorbed in this new ideal.

Only the serious student of our history during the past hundred years can realize the change that has taken place in morality. It began over fifty years ago. We cannot over-estimate the importance of the rise of so many lucky money makers as exemplars for the youth of the land, at a time when stern economic necessity was relaxing and young people became more free to indulge their impulses. Up to the nineteenth century, property had been quite largely a class institution. In America men who started with nothing were making money and were hailed as popular heroes, as the harbingers of a new social order in which any man of parts could make money. The first period of prosperity made some men rich. This was the period of village kings. The chronicles of the kings form an interesting bit of rural history. There were hop, malt, wool, seed, wheat, peppermint oil kings—one community boasted of having "the peppermint oil king of the world"—and the traditions of these kings continue to this day. For a democracy New York has had a goodly number of kings. The king was so-called because he was supposed to be a dominating figure in his line of business. In addition to the thrill of power the king enjoyed thrills of benevolence. One king had twelve children and his married sons and daughters had the habit of coming home with their families and remaining for an indefinite period. There were

also poor people who regularly came to his kitchen door for their meals. This king regularly fed twenty-five people. Others dispensed Thanksgiving turkeys quite widely throughout the community. The popular adulation fed on the stories of these benevolences. The popularity of a king depended on his maintaining a companionable attitude generally and when one of them came back from a trip to Europe with the claim that he had been given the title of "Sir," and with much of the Englishman in his manner, he became the object of a good deal of local satire. These kings were not farmers. They were men who made money out of manufacturing or trading in farm products. They had their day, with much popular adulation, and then went the way of other kings, though some of the dynasties, now decayed, persist to this day. In addition to these supposedly dominating figures in their lines, there were wealthy men in all lines, manufacturers, merchants, dealers in produce, and politicians who had "succeeded." Social control was vested in these men and their families. Most of them were not "exclusive," though some were. Most of them were "public-spirited," in the sense of being animated by community pride, though this centered in the material prosperity of the community, and not of the whole community equally but chiefly of themselves and their social circle. Their attitudes to church and community projects, to public education and to political questions, and hence their ideas on all questions and their general conversation, were determined not by a sympathetic and sensible understanding of the needs of the whole group but by their sense of their social position and their family interests in the community. They were ready with money for charity but their conception of social progress was of material progress and their idea was that people share in this according to their deserts. Wherefore, they were well satisfied with things as they were. There were unusually sympathetic people who felt the community's stagnation in thought and sometimes voiced this feeling in a signed article in the village paper. But the paper was generally subservient to the successful and influential and, we might add, to the rank and file who were involved in the popular adulation of the successful. Thus the processes of rivalry for superiority and adulation of the superior resulted in establishing certain recognized standards of success, indefinite standards which were represented by the accumulations, beliefs, manners of the successful. Little heed was paid to the opinions of the thoughtful man or woman who did not accept this popular definition of success.

This efflorescence of materialism was due, then, to the increased action of certain dispositions under the stimulation of the new conditions, particularly of rivalry in a great variety of social forms. Prosperous villages were so obsessed with rivalry that thought was as effectually oppressed as it had been before by conformity. Even clubs for the study of history, as we shall see, instead of stimulating thought were themselves subject to the prevailing obsession of rivalry. This was due to the increase of wealth and to the intimate living conditions of the villages, which resulted in a rivalry in possessions and in the material enjoyments of the machine age. Families developed attitudes of rivalry to other families, which centered around material evidences of superiority. Rivalry becomes most intense between families that have developed these rivalrous attitudes; and village life, in which villagers are apt to be acquaintances of long standing, abounds in these rivalrous attitudes.[4] Furthermore, village life does not offer social distractions that draw people away from these rivalrous relations, nor does it abound in new ideals nor offer contacts with idealists that encourage living above rivalry. Hence village conditions make it easy to acquiesce in the standards of social superiority which must be accepted if rivalry is to exist, because criticism of standards requires ideas as a viewpoint for criticism. The village rivalry kindled a new interest in all the traditional symbols of superiority—pedigree, cultural education—but possessions were the form of superiority that could be more widely and impressively shown than anything else. However, we are not to think of the choice of things as narrowly limited by prestige value. In the first exuberance of enjoyment of life following the early period of self-restraint, things were wanted just for the novelty of indulging impulses. But a tendency developed among the well-to-do to regulate consumption somewhat with a view to a conventional observance of standards of social superiority of the cities, and these standards of the well-to-do permeated the village life.

In the first period of expansion the rural population came into contact with this new village life and, to a certain extent, with city life. The passing of rural isolation subjected the rural population to these new stimulations. Then, too, the rural population had accumulated surplus wealth. But those who handled the farmers' products and who used their savings deposited in the banks lived in the villages and cities. Prestige centered there. The influence of these centers predominated in the newspapers and magazines that circulated through

the rural districts. The isolation of farm life fostered suggestibility to these village and city stimuli. Rivalrous impulses for superiority, particularly to make money, began to animate the farmer boys. Farmers regretted the influence on their boys of a magazine like *Success* but felt powerless to prevent it. Such magazines put into the form of a definite weekly stimulation the influences that were constantly emanating in less tangible forms from the villages and cities, and these influences made boys and girls discontented with farm life.

In addition to the materialistic manifestation of rivalry there was the social manifestation. People got the thrill of power and superiority not only by making money and displaying possessions but also by prestige-giving membership in organizations. As we shall see, there was a great increase of organizations in the villages. Also, there, where rivalry centered, civic pride was strong. Retired farmers who moved into villages were condemned for being "lacking in spirit," that is, in civic pride. They would not go into projects for increasing the importance of the village because the disposition of rivalry is less pronounced in farmers than in villagers and also because its social manifestations appeal to them less than the material manifestations, that is, property. National pride, also, was stronger in villages and cities than among the rural population. The nationalistic feeling of farmers was more a feeling of aloofness, a dislike of outsiders, than a positive and enthusiastic manifestation of the thrill of power. Of course in making this distinction we are speaking relatively, for farmers feel a thrill of power through membership in organizations and villagers feel a dislike toward outsiders. The distinction is a matter of emphasis. For the farmers as well as the villagers the local organization, the rural community in which they lived, and the nation were symbols of power. To be a member of these groups gave a thrill of power, so that the citizen of the nation could easily be wrought up by popular orators to an intense feeling on behalf of his nation; the villager could be aroused to contribute towards projects for the enlargement and improvement of his village, without much reflection as to whether the projects were sensible or not; and the members of the community could be stimulated to become "joiners" in the various local organizations. Those less capable of feeling these thrills of power acted with the others because susceptible to their influence or because of crowd enthusiasm or because ashamed of appearing to be lacking in the spirit that animated the "best people" of the community.

The isolated farm population responded slowly to the new materialistic and social stimuli of rivalry, for the families lived too widely distant from neighbors for rivalry to get a constant stimulus, and there were comparatively few ways in which farmers could display superiority. It was among the farmers' families on the choicer farms near the villages that rivalry developed. Rural women, especially, are less set in the attitudes of the physical configuration than men, wherefore they more readily manifest the social dispositions under conditions that lend any encouragement. The acquaintance of prosperous farmers' wives was cultivated by village women. The village banker wanted the farmer's money deposited in his bank, the village merchant wanted his trade, and the banker's wife and the merchant's wife were good business agents. The social rivalry of the village thus came to involve prosperous farmers' families. But on the whole it served to distinguish village from country people. This appeared sometimes to be a source of satisfaction to village people, for, in order to compensate for inferiority to the city their aim was to appear superior to the country. The result was a feeling of antagonism, in the rural neighborhood, against a farmer's family which had become absorbed in village rivalry as a sort of traitor to the neighborhood.

Rivalrous farmers' families ceased to be contented with a mere living. Rivalry does stir people out of their lethargy. However, mere rivalry does not necessarily develop a standard of living that one may reasonably desire to maintain. The rural people wanted more income because they wanted more of the things that village people had. It was reasonable for the farmers to want more income and a higher standard of living, but not to want this or that thing just because villagers had it. Hence the reaction of village rivalry on rural life was not very salutary. Valuable things, for instance, the old fire-place, also desirable rural manners and virtues were impulsively discarded and others were cultivated merely because of their association with a supposedly superior class. Rivalry begot an inordinate emphasis on money and material enjoyments. There was excessive attention paid to successful money makers and a tendency to be influenced by their characteristics. However, this effect of the rivalry of the villages was confined to the prosperous farmers in the vicinity of the villages. The rank and file who lived at some distance long maintained the attitudes of our rural heritage unchanged.

Among villagers and farmers' families which joined in the village

life, rivalry began to change the attitudes of the rural heritage. For rivalry is intent on social recognition; it disregards excellence that is subjective and obscure. Possessions are a form of superiority that can be more widely and impressively shown than personal qualities. The early population lived in the intimate relations of the neighborhood, so that the personal qualities and virtues of people were known to their associates. Consequently rivalry could attach to these as objectives and there was a rivalry in excellence. Conditions were different in the growing villages in the period of expansion. Rivalry came to center not on personal qualities but on possessions, and not on what a man had but on what people thought he had. This depended a good deal on how he lived, on his table, the size of his house and its furnishings, his equipage, the way the family dressed and the travelling they did. Consequently rivalry intensified impulses to spend. Wherefore it was contrary to the rural attitude of thrift. Again, by display people could and often did create an impression of wealth superiority they did not possess. As we have said, rivalry seeks mere recognition, not recognition of real worth, either financial or personal. So the impulse was to appeal to those who impulsively admire, without considering real worth; to superficial impression, not knowledge. The inevitable result was deceit, both on the part of those who sought recognition and those who admired and flattered the superior. This was contrary to the attitude of sincerity of the early days, which was a sentiment commonly defined as "not pretending to be what you are not." Among the rural population where this attitude persisted there developed a hearty contempt for the pretense of village people.

When the population came to center less on accumulation and to spend more freely, a great change in the rural heritage was inevitable, for the swing of the pendulum from accumulation, with its industry and self-restraint, to spending, set free a great range of impulses that are satisfied by material things. Scarcely a disposition can be mentioned that is not in some degree accelerated in its satisfaction by means of material things. Thus the attitudes of the rural heritage that had developed under the incentive to accumulate were brought into conflict with impulses to spend. Those in whom the accumulation attitudes persisted, the austere, came into conflict with those among whom impulses for free enjoyment were gaining headway, the convivial. The sons of the austere inherited their fathers' accumu-

lations or made easy money as dealers in farm produce, and this generation inclined to freer enjoyment.

In the villages rivalry gave a new trend to sociability, a tension that was not felt in the relaxation of the early days. It left families less by themselves in intimate family groups and drew the father into a men's club, the mother into a women's club, the children into other clubs. A family was not "in it" in the community unless its members belonged to these various clubs. However, we are not to think of the village as made up of families rivalling each other on a plane of equality. On the contrary recognized superiority for the most part belonged to a certain set of families which were quite generally agreed in their attitudes on all relevant matters. There might be one or two unusually thoughtful families that differed from this set but they lived their own lives. The families of the influential set had worked into agreement and they dominated the situation. There might be two rival sets, revolving around two rival bankers possibly, or more than two sets, but they resembled one another in their aversion to the independent and thoughtful family which held aloof from the social rivalry of the village. This rivalry involved accepting the respectable beliefs and attitudes of the community, and a critic of these eliminated himself from the social configuration and incurred all the odium directed upon an outsider. The leading set or sets controlled the influential churches and the public school. Often the sets were centered in the different churches and there was a rivalry for control of the school. In one village the Presbyterians controlled the school, in another the Methodists. The school principal must belong to the controlling sect, and he must "respect" the attitudes and beliefs of the controlling set. So the principal's essential qualification was smoothness. He must make things go smoothly within the school and between himself and the set that exercised the social control. His attitude affected the teachers, so the school was an institution for promoting conformity to the prevailing attitudes and beliefs while inculcating the prescribed mixed information.

The village schools as well as the rural district schools were at first under the influence of the rural heritage and the emphasis was on the discipline of children in self-restraint. Then rivalry came to the front in the villages and this affected both the matter and the method of education. The number of subjects taught increased and much of this mixed information had merely a prestige value; it marked

off as a superior those who had absorbed it. As to method, high marks and newspaper mention of those who excelled were used to lend interest to studies that were themselves uninteresting and of no consequence. The result was that school training fixed in boys and girls the attitude of rivalry, centered their attention on objective standards of superiority that, in the real world into which they were to go, were largely material standards, and thus worked against the ultimate end education should have, that is, the awakening of an interest in ideas and the development of the intellectual attitudes—straightforwardness, openmindedness, singlemindedness and fidelity to conviction. Rivalry has been accepted in the public schools as an incentive to learning without any reflection on the relation of rivalry to learning. This nation-wide attitude has come unconsciously to permeate school life and those who direct public education entirely fail to appreciate the significance of what they are doing.

This development of education in the villages did not much affect the rural schools. These remained elementary schools and the bright boy or girl from the country continued his or her studies in the village school and looked forward to being something besides a farmer or a farmer's wife. Recently, however, there has been a great increase in the knowledge that the farmer and the farmer's wife need for rural advancement. The rural population of New York, in the second period of expansion, used a smaller proportion of its surplus wealth for mere pleasure than in the first and more for acquisition of ideas. For thousands of farmers and farmers' wives the great event of the year is the annual farmers' week at the State College of Agriculture where they listen to addresses on every problem and aspect of rural life. There are also the local meetings and state conventions of the cooperatives and the meetings of the Farm and Home Bureau clubs. Thus the first reaction against the self-restraint of the early days, which took the form of the impulsive movement for social pleasure in the first period of expansion, seems to be in process of modification in the second period. There is a general and increasing interest in ideas that bear on agricultural and home problems. How this will affect rural education remains to be seen.

By way of summary of changes in the farming population we may say that farmers were at first absorbed in work. Their minds were centered on the crop and animal products of their toil. Then they became more interested in the financial results of work. Attention began to center on *money*. This was a change of immense importance. Re-

cently the more intelligent farmers have developed an increasing interest in the problems of work and of increasing their income. At first they were absorbed in the production of crops and in maintaining in the community and inculcating in their children the traditional morality and religion, which made men and women strong for the work of production and for enduring the hardships of life. Then the examples of money makers in the villages awakened them to the fact that the farmer was not getting his share of the income from agricultural industry; and village life made farmers' families want more of the things money would buy. This discontent was fertile ground for the ideas of agricultural leaders as to how to increase income and this new interest in ideas is slowly permeating the population. It is not yet evident in how far the mass of farmers are capable of the modification of traditional attitudes in accordance with new ideas that is necessary for rural progress.

Our analysis has shown that village and rural development thus far has been largely a fortuitous affair. It gives little evidence of reflection or intelligent purpose. Economic conditions affected human impulses in certain ways. Social attitudes changed under stress of new impulses. There was fortuitous change. But no village or rural institution was capable of doing its part in the direction of change for social ends. There was no adequate theory of social progress. Each institution was subject to the prevailing social attitudes and impulses which, in turn, were largely the fortuitous effects of economic conditions. This will become more clear in the course of the succeeding chapters. Even if our study shows nothing more than this it is worth while. For our aim is to control social behavior for the sake of progress; and one requisite for rational control is the careful analysis of behavior as we find it. Our analysis shows the nature of behavior and the need of control. It makes it plainly evident that people are what they are because, up to the present time, they have been the sport of circumstances—of changing economic conditions, of impulsive exemplars rather than intelligent leaders. If people are restless, centered on self or family, lacking in good will, incapable of a broad, tolerant point of view, it is because of this lack of real leadership. Rural and village development has been subjected to no progressive purpose. The formulation of such a purpose is the ultimate aim of such a study as this. The various rural institutions must develop a theory of progress and coöperate for its realization. This is the larger meaning of coöperation.

CHAPTER III

RURAL GROUPS IN A PERIOD OF ISOLATION

THE rural community, up to the time of the Civil War, remained comparatively isolated from the outside world. Canals and railroads had been built connecting the cities with the seaboard but most of the rural villages still relied on stage routes. Travelling was slow and uncomfortable and was undertaken only in case of necessity. This isolation accentuated the group consciousness of the community.

Within the community the neighborhoods maintained their early distinctness. Even though not very congenial with his neighbors, the farmer was intensely conscious of them and curious about outsiders. Though hospitable he was apt to be a bit suspicious of outsiders. Many stories illustrate this. Several farmers were sitting in a country store when a young man, a stranger, came in. "Looks a little like rain," he ventured affably. No response. Finally one farmer queried, "What may your name be?"

"James Hammond. My grandfather used to live just a mile up the road."

"Oh, Bill Hammond! Ye-es, it does look a little like rain."

The attitude of aloofness toward outsiders is characteristic of human groups and of sub-human.[1] Every bee keeper knows that, in introducing a new queen into the hive, the bees have to become gradually acquainted with her and this requires that she be separated from the bees, though where they can see her, until they become acquainted. The attitude of familiar intercourse among the members of the rural neighborhood and of aloofness toward outsiders was pronounced in certain families of most of the neighborhoods of our typical community up to 1900. For instance, in that year Blankwell, which had a post-office, was contemplating applying for a rural mail delivery service, which had already been installed at the Center, a neighborhood lying three miles nearer the village. But the leading citizen of Blankwell opposed the rural delivery and his influence prevailed for some

time. He said, "We are a little community here by ourselves. We want the post-office. We want the people to come here for their mail and meet one another and so perpetuate the good feeling of our hamlet."

This neighborhood consciousness was a consciousness of people living in the same small area. They might have no vital interests in common and might have different occupations. The point is that they lived in a small area on the roads of which they might meet one another at any time. So the characteristic reaction was the conventional salutation with which people greet those with whom they are familiar. The habit of "speaking to everybody" comes from the rural neighborhood where everybody is known to and speaks to everybody else. This habit sometimes persists when rural people settle in a larger place, where they are criticised for speaking to people whom they do not know. While the members of the neighborhood might have no vital interests in common, the neighborhood configuration of each member included many common ways of acting and believing and there was always a reaction against a new way. As the reaction against strangers was pronounced so was that against strange ways of acting and thinking.

The neighborhood configuration of the individual included: (1) a conscious attitude of askance toward outsiders; (2) a conscious attitude of familiarity toward members; (3) a consciousness of being judged by outsiders, to a certain extent, as a member of a neighborhood, rather than as an individual; (4) a consciousness of being under the pressure of the neighborhood to follow its ways and profess its beliefs and sentiments, though this behavior might not always be personally agreeable. Families would not always submit to this pressure and more than one family moved from an uncongenial neighborhood to one more satisfying. In our typical community a family moved out of one section into another "to get out of that ungodly neighborhood." A family in an "ungodly" neighborhood feared the bad influence on its children and imagined that outsiders might "class" it with the other "ungodly" families. The individual got his meaning, to outsiders who did not know him personally, from the attitudes of the groups to which he belonged—from the attitudes of his family and his neighborhood—and the group influence in many cases tended to justify that meaning. That is, because of subservience to social pressure the character of the individual tended to be moulded after the pattern of the configurations that constituted his or her social en-

vironment. Loyalty was felt to require conformity to the attitudes and beliefs of one's family and community.

The we-feeling of the neighborhood was not at that time weakened by the differentiation of economic conditions and by the rise of distinct agricultural industries that has since taken place. Even the professional man—the doctor, the lawyer—was not so distinct an individual as he is today in the village or city. Many stories that illustrate this common level of all individuals have for generations been current in the rural districts. For instance, a certain farmer, no matter how ill he was, would not permit his family to call a doctor; and, if one was called, he would not take the medicine prescribed. This averseness to having a doctor was a common rural trait, but the man in this case was particularly stubborn. To him the doctor knew little more about illness than anybody else and his remedies were no better than "home remedies." After getting over an illness in the course of which the doctor had been called and had left medicine, this farmer one day called to the doctor as he was passing and handed him the medicine with the words, "Here, Doc, I'll return your medicine and as soon as I get time I'll return your visits." Humor, fellow feeling, and self-reliance were aspects of the behavior of the early neighborhood in which all were familiar, equal, much alike and similarly aloof toward outsiders.

The configuration of the family within the neighborhood shows the same general features. The members of the family were, of course, much more intimate with one another than neighbors were, had much more in common, and reacted more positively against a differing member than neighbors did. As the neighborhood showed an aloofness toward outsiders, so did the family. This was seen when, for instance, a neighbor came in at the time the family was eating. The state of mind seemed to be one of uncertainty as to how to act, that is, whether to react as to one of their own number and say, "Sit down and have a bite," or just to feel "put out." Sometimes the reply indicated a middle course: "Have you had your dinner?" These three types of reaction are seen also on the part of a neighborhood toward strangers. There was the positive attitude against a stranger, the look of askance, and the taking in of the stranger because of his association with familiar people or because of the confidence inspired by his personality.

The isolation of the neighborhood preserved the definiteness of that group. The village was a less definite group. Not only was there greater diversity in occupations but also each villager was less likely

than the man in the country to meet all the others frequently. A stranger aroused somewhat less interest in the village than in a rural neighborhood because the villagers were less definitely known to one another and a stranger was by contrast less noticeable. But within some village populations there had developed, at the beginning of the first period of rural expansion, as definite groups as the neighborhood. One of these was the village aristocracy, that is, certain old families the ancestors of which had made money and which, though now no more wealthy than some newly rich families, had, for two generations, associated intimately and exclusively. They prided themselves not on their wealth for they sneered at the "new rich," and not on their culture for they regarded lightly an unusual family which had bright children away at college, but rather on their status. They were the aristocracy and they could become very much excited over a new rich family that presumed itself worthy to enter their circle. In their reaction against new ways of acting or thinking they showed a more extreme intolerance than that of the rural neighborhood.

Two essential aspects of a social configuration are that the individuals characterized by it conform to the prevailing behavior and that they do things together. For instance, in the family the authority of the parents was pronounced and the children echoed the parental attitudes and sentiments in their influence on one another. A child who was subservient to any contrary outside influence was condemned by the family as disloyal, so that there was a pressure on all to act according to the family ways. Also the members of the family did things together. When, owing to village influences, the family began to do things less as a unit, there was less "family feeling" than before. Sometimes the parents felt that the family was becoming a group which merely slept under the same roof, and the mother, when she called the family to meals, would insist on all coming when she called, with the words, "This family is going to eat together anyway."

The attitude of liberty, however, affected the early family configuration. It caused a trend toward non-conformity. Boys resisted the family pressure more or less and longed for the time when they would be free. The readiness of the young to go to the cities, to leave father and mother even though they were much needed at home, is due in part to the fact that the attitude of liberty unconsciously moved the parents themselves and infected the children. Children were wont to look forward to their coming of age as a time of freedom. When a boy resisted parental authority he was told, "When you are of age

you can do as you please." A father treated a grown-up son in a very independent manner, and so the son acquired from his father the independent attitude.

The members of the rural church likewise conformed to the prevailing behavior and did things together. All alike entered into the church activities without thinking of doing otherwise. The prevailing behavior included assent to the creed and to the austere attitude toward social pleasure. The church activities included not only meetings for worship but also the church suppers and sociables. A member who was attracted to the services or sociables of another church was frowned on as disloyal. A member who listened to any idea that was contrary to his creed or to the austere attitude toward pleasure was regarded as disloyal. And the individual was made to feel this social pressure more than he is today. If a member came to disbelieve any part of the creed, he was expected not to dissent openly but to act as if he believed. That is, the emphasis was on conformity, on outward assent to the prevailing behavior. A man might think what he pleased, though, to be sure, it was dangerous to entertain ideas that were contrary to the required behavior, for there was no telling when such ideas would begin to affect behavior. Later, when dissent to certain parts of the creed became common, it was not considered necessary to believe all the creed—just enough to worship together. That is, as members came to dissent from the traditionally approved beliefs, and from the austere attitude toward pleasure, the emphasis came to be more and more on doing things together, as if thus to forget differences. The emphasis was on formal worship together and on supporting the social and philanthropic activities of the church.

The prevailing attitude of liberty affected the rural churches, that is, the Protestant churches; it had little effect on the Catholic. The traditional principle of social relationship of the Roman Catholic church was one of authority and subordination, as compared with the independent attitude of the members of Protestant churches toward their ministers. The Catholic attitude of subordination to authority facilitated conformity to the behavior of the group, including assent to the creed and doing things together, so that Catholics were more conspicuous than Protestants not only for unquestioning acceptance of the creed but also for coöperation both politically and economically. Catholics patronized the Catholic merchants of the villages and voted for the Catholic candidates for office. The Catholic church guarded itself against the Protestant spirit of independence by a vigorous shep-

herding of its flock. But independence had full sway in those Protestant sects that were strongest in the rural districts. Because of this difference of attitude between Protestant and Catholic churches, the former did not like the "clannishness" of the Catholics, that is, their subordination to authority and their economic and political solidarity. As contrasted with this, the attitude of liberty showed itself in the resistance of Protestants to any undue assertion of authority on the part of the minister. In the Protestant churches authority was in the hands of the leading members, so there were often factional quarrels. To avoid such quarrels it was deemed advisable that the minister should be a man of strong personality and influence, but still the "real leader" was defined as "one who has his way without appearing to." Any appearance of trying to have his "way" was resented. The minister and his wife must not try to run things themselves, but must get others to run things and keep them working harmoniously. Wherefore a minister studied a new field pretty carefully, to avoid the appearance of assuming authority and to avoid taking sides in old factional quarrels. No sooner would he be settled in the field where there had been a factional quarrel than one faction would try to enlist him, in some subtle way, and the other faction would see the significance of his words and behavior before he himself did, and he would be resisted by the faction he thus "sided against." Thus the American attitude of liberty inevitably caused more or less discord in Protestant churches but had little effect on the Catholic church, of which the essential tendency of social relationship was that of authority—subordination.

The early neighborhood showed the same general characteristics as the family and church configurations. The families of the neighborhood conformed to the prevailing behavior and entered into the neighborhood activities without thought of doing otherwise. As an illustration of conformity to the prevailing behavior, the industrious families of a neighborhood were annoyed by a family that lacked the customary industry and were pleased with an industrious family, and the industry of all held each up to a common standard. Also families were annoyed with a neighboring family that kept entirely by itself in the social life and were pleased with a family that was good company after the day's work was done, and this appreciation stimulated families to be friendly and hospitable. In addition to this conformity to the common, everyday behavior, the families of the neighborhood coöperated in work and recreation projects. As long as conformity and coöperation were general, there was little or no

consciousness of social pressure. But when a family began to be affected by outside influences, and to dissent from certain aspects of neighborhood behavior and to hold aloof from certain common enterprises they became conscious of the pressure to conform. The eventual passing of general conformity resulted in a period of individualism and in a decadence in rural morality. The old morality made for efficient work and wholesome recreation under the existing conditions. The neighborhood became demoralized and the larger rural community had not yet developed. Leaders in community development aimed to stimulate community feeling by emphasizing common projects. They tried to get the men of the community to coöperate in fitting up a hall over the store for meetings of local organizations, or to join a class for discussion of religion or community problems—anything to get the members of the community together in common projects.

The attitude of liberty disturbed the conformity of the early neighborhood. Each family felt its economic independence. Well-to-do families felt the social pressure and were impatient with it. They felt the pressure to conform to the old attitudes of thrift and frugality and were impatient that other people did not "mind their own business" when the family bought a new carriage. There was a pronounced attitude toward resisting the social pressure. Though a family claimed this right for itself, some reflection was needed to accord the same right to others for, along with the unthinking attitude of liberty, there was the other unthinking attitude toward feeling and acting with the neighborhood against a differing family.

The social pressure of the community was accentuated by the proneness of the rural mind to obsessions of dislike. As physical isolation conduces to a suspicious attitude toward strangers, so mental isolation conduces to a dislike of new ways and new ideas. One who behaved differently in a certain respect from his neighbors or had different ideas was disliked. The difference might be so insignificant that the person was not indignantly condemned but was called "just queer." A dislike made the mind susceptible to ideas that accentuated it, so that all sorts of stories might be circulated about the queer person. The isolation and monotony of rural life encouraged gossip and accentuated emotional states. Gossip gave the imagination free play, with little regard to the truth of what was expressed. The most interesting gossip was gossip against somebody so that people were quite likely to conform from "fear of what people would say." Of course this attribute, like the others we have mentioned in this chapter, is charac-

teristic of all social configurations. One finds, even in groups of so-called educated people, a dislike of the non-conformist as such, a tendency to avoid dislike by conformity, and a tendency to gossip. The attributes are most pronounced in isolated groups because the latter are clearly defined, the distinctions between the group and outsiders are clearly seen, and isolation heightens the appreciation of the group ways and the aversion to other ways of doing and thinking.

The pressure exerted by a group proceeds especially from representative members. The exemplary citizen is expected to assume the attitude which the rank and file should take to any situation. In the rural family it was an axiom of behavior that the members should accept without question the attitude of the father to a particular situation. The father's customary attitude to his family was, "I expect you to respect my attitude." They were to accept it without dispute and even without asking his reasons. In the neighborhood the people expected one another to accept the attitude of leading citizens to a particular situation or issue; the leading citizens expected their "say-so" to be accepted without question. Of course the attitude of liberty frequently upset this expectation; the leading citizens themselves did not always agree, for instance on political questions, but there was a tendency for groups to form around leaders and for one —the Republican group—to "swear by what Squire Haven says" and another—the Democratic—to "swear by what Squire Williams says." These leaders were quite likely to be old-time rivals for some town office as, for example, justice of the peace. They expected their attitudes toward various questions to be accepted by their respective followings; and the people acquiesced in this expectation. Thus there was a strong tendency toward conformity in the isolated neighborhood. The minister exemplified this spirit. He was expected not to "side with" either party to a controversy, either in the church or in the community, but to confine himself to the lofty presentation of divine truth about which there could be no difference of opinion.

The smaller configurations, as families, rural neighborhoods and village social sets, are more definite than larger ones, because of the intimacy of the relations of the individual members and because of the many things they do in common. For this reason it is difficult to interest farmers in the entire rural community, or villagers in the entire village. In like manner among school boys those on the same street naturally run together and are less interested in their school group as a whole than in their own set. Nevertheless, large as well as small

groups are characterized by the attributes above noted, that is, the distinction between members and outsiders, as seen in a reaction to members as such and against outsiders, and the emphasis on conformity to the group behavior and on having a part in the group projects. People of a nation have a deepseated tendency to distinguish between natives and foreigners, to react to natives as such and foreigners as such, to conform to the national attitudes and to enter into national projects. A great nation, in a crisis that is everywhere realized and with respect to which there is a likeness of attitudes, develops a marked pressure of the whole group on each member to conform to the prevailing behavior and to do particular things together. However, when the crisis is over, people again come largely under the pressure of their families and social circles. The caption of idealists, "my family before myself, my community before my family, my nation before my community, humanity before my nation" reverses the actual order for most people. While men often put family before self, they also put family before community and nation; and humanity is a mere name. This is in line with our rural traditions. Men did and still do regard community and national problems and problems of humanity largely from the point of view of the attitudes of their family and of the circle of families in which their lives are mostly lived. These small social circles tend to fall into certain economic classes that run through many communities so that the attitudes of a social circle are valid for a larger social area than the mere local circle of families and foster class views on community and national questions.

Social configurations over-lap in their functioning. The family attitudes of early rural life were transmuted into neighborhood and church attitudes. On the other hand, religion was a means of increasing social pressure in the family and the neighborhood in that it provided a supernatural sanction of behavior. Thus the configurations were articulated in a general scheme of behavior that adapted the people to their conditions. When the configurations were well articulated, personal impulses, including individual rivalry, were subordinated to the common attitudes and beliefs. The desire for recognition was for recognition of loyalty to family, church or neighborhood, by living true to the general behavior sponsored by each group and by having a part in the projects undertaken by the groups. When these social configurations weakened, personal impulse became pronounced; rivalry became more self-regarding. This was the condition in the period of expansion which we are to study.

In the period of isolation, rivalry was merely casual. Then came an increasing rivalry of groups with one another as they became more intimately associated, but not yet had this been followed by the rivalry of individuals who were breaking away from their groups. That is, the pronounced social pressure of the early days survived as the groups became less isolated; the individual felt solicitude for the honor and superiority of his groups. As long as the social pressure continued strong, the rivalry of the individual was subordinated to the ends of this group rivalry. As it weakened the individual became more rivalrous on his own account. This was seen in the increasing tendency of the individual to "put himself forward." In the early days the individual was less apt to put himself forward. He sought to make any personal achievement redound to the credit of his group. The group members did not envy one of their number on account of an achievement as long as he was "just as common" as before in his relations with them, that is, as long as he said nothing about his achievement and let them make the most of it for the superiority of the group. But when people began to seek individual superiority and to disregard their family or their neighborhood, there was more jealousy.

In comparatively indefinite configurations, that is, the community and the nation as compared with the family, the circle of families and the church, the social pressure that restrains the self-regarding impulses is weaker than in the more definite configurations. Men will disregard the welfare of their community or nation in the satisfaction of impulses when they would not disregard the welfare of their family or social circle or church. A sense of responsibility in connection with the larger and more indistinct groups sometimes comes to actuate men when they become officials therein. Officials often are honestly perplexed as to whether they should seek the welfare of the larger group they represent or should feel subservient to the wishes of a certain group of constituents. It is the small group for which the official usually decides, among other reasons because it is a more definite configuration. In a nation in which the family and social circle have long been emphasized above everything else, men in their official capacity are likely to be influenced by family considerations and by the attitudes of their social circle, and not altogether disinterestedly to seek the welfare of the larger group they represent.

After the disintegration of the neighborhood in the first period of expansion, the development of a larger rural community was a very

slow process. This was due to the fact that other than community projects engaged the farmers' attention. The interest of prosperous farmers' families became centered in the village and this caused hard feeling between these families and others which regarded them as becoming "stuck up." Within the families of farmers whose social life began to center in the village, the members were by no means agreed as to the advisability of these new village interests. The husband was apt to be less in favor of them than the wife. So families as well as neighborhoods were divided.

This period of the disintegration of rural configurations was a period of set-back in rural leadership. The stimulus to leadership comes from a realization that those for whom the leader will give his efforts mean something to him. For instance, a man will play the father occasionally to other children than his own but the real incentive comes from a sense of the permanency of his relations with his own children, in virtue of which what he does for them enriches a relation that is destined to last far into the future. Just so a man will be more ready to make an effort incidental to leadership in his community if he is conscious of a permanency in his relations with the people of his community. Now the period of expansion was one in which there was an increasing migration of the agricultural population from one rural neighborhood to another and from the rural parts to the villages and cities. The stable relations of the old neighborhood were broken up. So there was not the incentive to leadership that is inspired by permanency of relations.

The development of the rural community seems to have been due more to economic need than to anything else. In the first period of expansion there was depression in agriculture in the East because of the opening up of the West, but there was no sense of a definite rural problem that must be met. The rural problem had not begun to shape itself. Then developed the new economic relations with the business world, and then came the extreme agricultural set-back of the middle nineties. The farmers felt that their fortunes were under the control of business men as never before, and they began to feel a common need of organizing to promote their economic interests. This movement required leadership, and it called into action in the various communities those who had capacity for it. These local leaders talked coöperation, were instrumental in the formation of coöperative organizations, and became the officers of their locals. For instance, the Dairymen's League is not an amorphous organization. It is a federation of over

nine hundred locals. These locals existed before the League, not as locals of the League but as potential communities of dairy farmers who felt a need of doing something to improve their condition. The League gave these potential communities a project that developed them into definite configurations. The Grange, as we shall see, has functioned in the same way—it was the first of the great rural organizations so to function—and so has the Farm Bureau. Coöperation as a project appeals more strongly to farmers at the present time than any other because it means organization for furthering economic interests along lines that farmers can easily understand. This has naturally drawn the farmers of the various communities into groups for concerted action. In the Dairymen's League each of these local coöperative groups is incorporated and has its own officers and a board of directors elected by the members. The central administration of the League has little to do with influencing the affairs of the locals. Now it is found that the most effective locals are those in which community relations are relatively permanent, for the pronounced community configuration gives a stimulus to leadership. Of course there are other conditions that make for efficiency, for instance, the fact that the communities with more permanent relations are likely to be the more prosperous communities and so to have farmers who are more capable of leadership. But the comparative permanency of relations gives these farmers an incentive to lead. They feel more assurance that their efforts will count for something.

The first period of expansion, to an analysis of which we turn in the succeeding chapters, was a period in which the early rural configurations were disintegrating, and the result was a prominence of personal impulse. This was enhanced by the surviving attitude of liberty which always had more or less disturbed the conformity of the early days. The prominence of impulse was due to certain changed conditions that will be described in Chapters IV and V. The years of the Civil War were prosperous years for the agricultural population and the war period was followed by extensions of railroads connecting the rural parts with the larger centers. This had effects of far-reaching importance. It did away with the extreme isolation of the rural communities thus connected with the outside world. It increased the importance of the villages as shipping points for the farmers and centers for the distribution of goods. It stimulated a change in agricultural industry that had begun before the war, the change from production with a view primarily to home and local con-

sumption to specialized farming and production for a wider market. It also stimulated the interest of farmers' families in the material side of village and city life, increased the migration of country youth cityward, caused a flow of immigrant labor into the country districts and an increase of farm tenants, and so broke up the heretofore stable neighborhood relations. All these changed conditions contributed to what later came to be called the rural problem.

The importance of the passing of isolation and of the changed economic and social conditions cannot be over-estimated. For our entire rural heritage was founded on isolation and on the economic self-sufficiency of the rural community and the stability of the rural neighborhood. The passing of these conditions must, therefore, in time profoundly affect the attitudes and beliefs of the people. The slowness with which attitudes and beliefs change in adaptation to changed conditions is one of the most important lessons to be learned from rural development. Village people changed more rapidly than the rural population. Among the latter changes were conspicuous only in exceptionally prosperous families. The mass of farmers were little affected. The slowness of rural change is of deep scientific interest in that it emphasizes the importance of attitude and belief in rural behavior; and it is of immense practical interest to rural leaders who aim to direct the processes of rural development.

CHAPTER IV

THE INCREASING IMPORTANCE OF THE VILLAGE IN THE RURAL COMMUNITY

THE expansion of rural life followed the passing of the isolation of the neighborhood. There was a more intimate association of the farming population with the villages and cities. This was due to the building of railroads, to the economic changes that will be described in the next chapter, to the increase of village newspapers that circulated through the rural districts and to the fact that now for decades young people from the rural neighborhoods had been migrating to the villages and cities. Farmers had relatives "in town" and this weakened the deep-seated prejudice between country and town, though that prejudice had by no means passed away. Furthermore, well-to-do farmers who had married sons or daughters sometimes moved to the near-by village and left the farm to be run by the young people. So the rural population was less isolated because of the more intimate communication and the increasing ties with the villages and cities.

Farmers' families were beginning to be less absorbed in their neighborhood associations. In our typical communities the size of families diminished during the first period of expansion and consequently there was a decrease in the population of most rural neighborhoods. There was a decrease in the degree of kinship within the neighborhoods and an increase between the rural parts of the communities and the villages. This was due to the settling of the farmers' children in the villages and to the moving of farmers to villages, leaving the land to be managed by the young. Prosperity affected the farmers in two different ways. The doggedly industrious remained on their farms; the more easy-going moved to the villages. In periods of adversity they returned to their farms.

Another cause of increasing intimacy of association between the rural neighborhoods and the villages was the emigration of artisans from the rural neighborhoods. This had begun long before the period of expansion. As a result many farmers who had had their sap-buckets

made or their harnesses mended in their own neighborhoods were obliged to have this done in the village. While there on such errands, they became accustomed to drop into the store or the saloon where they made new acquaintances which, in turn, attracted them to the village still more frequently. But here again farmers varied. One farmer, when he was no longer able to have his harness mended in the neighborhood, mended it himself rather than waste half a day "going to town." Another seized upon the broken harness as an excuse to go to town; and the more often he went, the more unlike his more industrious neighbor he became.

Another economic change which increased the intimacy of communication between the rural parts and the villages was the disappearance of small manufacturing industries from the rural neighborhoods. This change began soon after 1845 and its effects were similar to those of the emigration of the artisan. The neighborhood no longer prepared its own lumber nor spun its own garments but the farmers had to go to the village for their supplies. In our typical community there were twice as many stores in the village in 1875 as in 1845 and twice as many in 1900 as in 1875. The villages increased in importance not only as distributing centers but also as shipping ports. So the village became the economic center of the community.

Coöperating with these economic changes were certain others which made the village the social center. Farmers when they came to the village on business met other farmers on the streets, in the hotels and the saloons. Drinking farmers were less inclined to make their home brew than formerly and more likely to get their liquor in the village saloons, which was one cause of the increase in the number of saloons. Then, too, farmers' organizations had their meeting places in the villages and farmers' children attended the high schools that were springing up in the villages. Finally, the meeting-houses scattered throughout the rural neighborhoods were gradually closed and the farmers attended the village churches. Not only did the village become the center of the social life of the community but it was made to appear more entirely so than it really was. For the local newspapers inevitably printed news largely of village doings, so that the social and religious activities of the villages were more thoroughly advertised than were those of the rural neighborhoods and were regarded throughout the community as of chief importance.

This development of the rural community around the village is illustrated by certain events in the history of our typical community.

A weekly newspaper was started in Blankville in 1855. It contained little news up to 1875 and, after that, chronicled chiefly the doings of village people. Still it was regarded throughout the rural neighborhoods as the community paper. Another event was the change in the location of the churches of the community. After 1860 all the churches had their meeting places in the village. Again, in 1874 the village became the meeting place of the Grange Society, in which centered the social pleasure of the rural neighborhoods. Then came a remarkable increase of various kinds of pleasure, all of it centering in the village. In 1871 a new public school building was completed whither the youth of the rural districts came to finish their education begun in the rural schools. In 1875 the village was incorporated.

The farmers were by no means uniformly favorable to this growing intimacy of association between the rural parts and the villages. In most neighborhoods some families stood out against it. They distrusted the influence of the village on the neighborhood life. For it was thought that intimacy with village people tended to alienate a farmer from his neighbors. The neighborhood good will was to be carefully safeguarded. Inequality in the wealth possessed by the different families of the neighborhood had gradually increased but, so long as all were centered in their neighborhood, each felt toward the other that hearty good will that had united the families in the early days. The men still enjoyed gathering in the store or tavern on winter evenings and indulging in the old-time play of wit and humor. With the advent of a younger generation, however, which attended school in the village and became more or less centered in the social pleasures there, the comradeship of the neighborhood weakened. The same change took place among the women. As long as housewives did their own housework, all, rich and poor, were subject to the common lot of daily work. If there were more than enough girls in one family to do the housework and no girls in a neighbor's family, one of the girls of the former would work in the latter family, not as a servant girl, however, but as a member of the family. Then the connection of the villages with the large centers by railroad turned a stream of foreign immigration into the rural communities and young Irish women began to be employed as servant girls in the well-to-do families, thus giving the housewife leisure for "dressing up" and calling among the neighbors and for visiting outside the neighborhood. The standard of living of well-to-do families began to rise in other respects also. Young couples began life on a plane to which their

parents had not thought of aspiring, and parents were accustomed to remark to the newly married couple: "If we had had what you have when we set up housekeeping, we should have felt quite aristocratic." The unequally rising standard of living and the comparative ease in which some families lived did not at first destroy the old-time sociability, not until there came a younger generation brought up in comparative idleness and ignorance as to farm work and household duties. An old resident of a neighborhood told how she once called on some young ladies who had just returned from an extended visit. She found them lying down and never called again, not proposing to waste her time "calling on people who went to bed in the daytime." Before 1900 the social visiting in many neighborhoods had pretty much ceased. The association between country and village was of rural people of predominantly religious interests with people of the same church membership in the villages, and of pleasure-loving families with the same kind in the villages. Our typical community well illustrates these lines of association. A local chapter of the Grange was formed in 1874 and included in its membership residents of eight of the eleven neighborhoods. Of its seventy-one members, only seventeen were church members. This organization became the most important society for social pleasure of the community; in it village and rural people enjoyed a social life together. Thus the rural people who were liberal in their attitude to pleasure associated with that kind in the village; the religious people in the rural parts with the religious in the village.

As neighborhood ties weakened with this development of the community, the consciousness of the community as a distinct group was accentuated. The members of a community referred to themselves as "we townspeople." The community was likely to be identified with the town in which it mostly lay, though, in thus speaking of it, people were conscious that its real limits did not coincide with the boundaries of the town. But identifying it with the town gave the community configuration a definiteness; and the mind, as we have seen, seeks definiteness in its social configurations. Essential in the growing community configuration was local pride. Before the Civil War community pride had been evident, and it became more pronounced in the first period of expansion. It caused the citizens of a community to make prominent any evidence of superiority however superficial. For instance the newspaper of our typical community in 1859 printed the following remark on the relative importance of the town and

county fairs: "Some regard the county fair as worthy of the most liberal support," but the consensus of opinion is that in our first town fair "we beat the county fair all hollow." In 1865 we find a long argument to prove that Flora, a fast trotting horse, was foaled in the town and not in a neighboring town as was claimed; also a statement that the town "has the largest continuous pasture land in the state." In the first period of rural expansion community pride centered in the village. From 1874 to 1890 was the great period of village life and village pride. As we noted in the Preface almost one-half the village papers existing in 1924 were started in the first period of expansion. The paper was an important stimulus of group consciousness and of village pride and rivalry with other villages. One village's pride centered in its paved streets, another's in its beautiful trees, well-kept lawns and parks, another's in its high school, another's in its opera house. The citizens of each village uncritically echoed the prevailing sentiment. Civic pride as a means of progress is less important than is thought because of the unintelligent attitude to the standards of superiority. For instance, in beautifying a village a disproportionate part of the taxes was spent on the main business street and on the residential section of the well-to-do while the "back streets" were neglected. Pride in the school rested more in its material appearance than in its achievements in terms of mind and character. Rivalry tends to emphasize obvious, superficial, material evidences of superiority.

We have referred to the part played by the newspaper in the village life. A village paper had several distinct effects on the development of its community. First, it made the community acquainted with itself. No community realizes how indispensable a local paper is in this respect until deprived of it. Second, being a village paper it magnified the importance of village affairs, and subjected the community unduly to the stimulation of village behavior. After the development of the great farm organizations in the second period of expansion village papers began to carry a larger body of strictly rural news and to become more adequately community papers. Third, these village papers had exchanges with other papers of their section and thus each village learned of the affairs of other villages. These exchanges were not often referred to in the papers but the editors got ideas thereby which they told their friends and thus ideas travelled from village to village. This accentuated village rivalry. Also an editor would visit surrounding villages and write articles on points in which his village excelled others and points on which it was excelled. Some-

times this would be done at a critical time in the discussion of some village enterprise, for instance, whether or not the streets should be macadamized. The editor of a village the streets of which were being macadamized would write an article on the superiority of his village over the village in which the discussion was under way and his article would be quoted in the paper of the latter village and this would augment the growing sentiment for "McAdam-ization." Thus the paper played a predominant rôle in the rivalry of villages. Fourth, these exchanges overlapped like a series of intersecting circles so that the villages of the state were connected by means of the exchanges, which thus served as bureaus of information to pass on the news of what was happening from one part of the state to another. It is not possible to map this net-work of exchanges because there is no record of their extent in the past, but it played a part in the dissemination of ideas that resulted in village improvements and new pleasures. The building of roller skating rinks and opera houses took place at the same time in various parts of the state and the similar conditions of economic prosperity do not entirely explain it.

This development of the villages was by no means uniform. It depended on leadership, and villages differed in their leadership. In the matter of temperance, for instance, the initiative of one family was sometimes the deciding factor in starting a temperance crusade in a community or in circulating a petition to have the question of license or no-license submitted to the people. Neighboring towns with the same economic conditions sometimes differed in temperance movements merely because of differences in leadership.

While the village was the center of a rural community, the villagers did not pay much attention to the rural parts. They looked, for their prosperity, to the growth of manufacturing within their borders rather than to the development of the surrounding farming community. The eyes of villagers were on the cities, and they would grow as cities grow. For a time factories did multiply in the villages, but toward the end of the first period these began to close and most villages have never recovered the industrial importance then lost. However, new industries, particularly those that manufacture farm products, are developing in the villages. Also city factories are, in some cases, establishing branch factories in villages.

In the first period the villages were becoming more closely associated with each other and with the outer world. This was due to the newspaper exchanges described and to the extension of railroads. After a

village was connected with a near-by city by railroad, we note a gradual increase in the number of advertisements of the retail stores of the city in the community paper, and of editorials against those who do not patronize the home merchants. Much of the travelling done on the railroads was to the cities for a day's shopping. Longer journeys were made primarily with the purpose of visiting friends. Even when summer resorts were visited, the citizens commonly made such trips in groups, and those who were accustomed to spend the entire summer at a particular resort often did so in colonies.

In spite of the increase of travelling and of outside interests, the affairs of the town and of the townspeople continued to absorb the popular attention. The reason given for taking a daily newspaper published in a near-by city instead of a New York daily was that the former "tells what is going on near home." The "personals" in the village weekly were the news most eagerly read. Next in interest came news of neighboring communities. Wherefore, it is possible, by a study of the news sheet in the files of a village paper, to trace the growth of the interest of the community in surrounding communities. Let us illustrate this point from our typical community. There, in 1900, the community paper was subscribed for by over one-half the families in eight rural neighborhoods and in the village, and by a considerable number in the remaining three neighborhoods. It was subscribed for by over one-half the families of the community as a whole and was read by a greater number than the subscription list would indicate, owing to the fact that the same copy often circulated among several families. As to news of surrounding communities we find, in the files of 1875, a miscellaneous collection of items under the heading "County and Neighboring." Items from a particular community were not segregated in a separate column under the name of the community, but were given with items from other communities. Later, however, we find the news of a community printed separately under the name of the community. The number of communities thus regarded as distinctly interesting increased following the period of great prosperity, 1879-83. In this connection the following statement in the Blankville Times, October 31, 1884, is significant: "We propose to make the *Times* the paper of this section; to add news letters from surrounding villages each week which will make the *Times* of peculiar interest to all in this section." The editor evidently had caught the enterprising spirit stirred by the period of unprecedented prosperity. After 1885 the paper ceased to print news from communities which were found to be of little interest to subscri-

bers but increased the items from interesting communities. The causes of the increasing interest in various communities were, first, that farmers moved into the village from neighboring communities, as well as from the rural parts of the typical community. These people were interested in news of their former neighbors, and the latter were curious to follow the fortunes of their old friends whose names, from time to time, appeared in the paper. Second, a number of members of the town Grange society were residents of neighboring towns, so that the townspeople, through their fellow Grangers, became more and more interested in the people of surrounding towns. Third, as dramatic and musical societies increased and as church choirs bloomed into choral clubs of considerable local fame, the concerts and plays given by the townspeople in neighboring communities increased and this widening acquaintanceship contributed to the closer association of the town with surrounding communities. Then, too, the parties, dances and plays given in the village and the attractions of the churches drew an increasing number from outside the town.

The development of the rural community was somewhat affected by the immigration of foreigners. In the settlement of the state, groups of settlers tended to be of the same nationality and thus the early neighborhoods were predominantly English, Dutch, Scotch, German. Later the neighborhood was less distinct in its nationality because of the invasion of immigrants. The feeling of difference between people of different nationalities was less keen in the rural districts than in the cities because, in the country, the different nationalities were not massed in certain sections as in the city and because the economic side of the difference was less conspicuous in the country. There all were farmers while, in the city, one nationality was conspicuous in one occupation and another in another. However, under certain conditions there was a pronounced feeling against foreigners in the rural parts. When the first generation of settlers had passed on its accumulations to the second and the second to the third, a pride in accumulations developed among those lucky ones and this pride fed on whatever would nourish it. The pride fostered by economic prosperity tended to instigate a pride of nationality and ancestry. These generations began to have ancestors, which accentuated their sense of nationality and their disdain for people of a nationality which was considered socially lower than their own. Particularly did the children of settlers from New England become, in a sense, British-American. In addition to this pride and exclusiveness

fostered by economic prosperity there was, among rural people generally, a sense of difference between themselves and foreigners. This became evident at the time of the immigrant invasion in the 'forties. As we have seen, the neighborhood configuration caused a reaction against outsiders, particularly against foreigners. The farmer gave certain "reasons" for this reaction, which were merely the conscious phases of the reaction. He welcomed the strangers as farm laborers but disliked them as foreigners in his neighborhood. However, the farmer came to respect a family of foreigners if they made good as farmers. He also envied them their success in settling their traditional attitudes on their children, while the children of the native born were beginning to break away from tradition. On the other hand the younger generation of native born regarded with ridicule those nationalities whose children were still well under the yoke. Of course those nationalities were the ones that appeared most unlike the Americans. Another reason for the feeling against foreigners was the increase in the numbers of immigrants to whose religion the early population had been traditionally hostile, that is, Catholics. But, as we have said, this feeling against foreigners, due to these various conditions, did not become pronounced until there came a generation that inherited the accumulations of the preceding ones. The Irishman would tell you that he liked "the old Yank" but did not like his children. The old Yank, was a hard worker and respected any farmer, no matter what his nationality, who was like himself a hard worker, a helpful neighbor, law abiding and a man of his word. This likeness of neighborhood attitudes overcame the sense of difference of nationality and even, to a certain extent, of difference of religion. But those who inherited accumulations had a sense of superiority because of possessions and developed a decided contempt for those who had none and this contempt fed on whatever might accentuate it and thus bred a variety of contempts, among which was that for people thought to be of inferior nationality. If the latter accumulated property or inherited accumulations, jealousy intensified the contempt. Thus the economic factor was vital in the increase of prejudice against foreigners.

This attitude of the natives toward foreigners intensified the inclination of the latter to "keep by themselves." Foreigners in a new country naturally huddle together. People of the same sect look good to one in a country where most of the people are of a different sect, and this is one of the reasons for the alleged "clannishness" of Catholics in the

United States. The German Lutherans and the Welsh were, for a long time, just as clannish. The Irish, Welsh, and German immigrants were naturally most interested in people of their own nationality and faith, and this inclination was intensified by the exclusive attitude of natives toward them. The social life of these hyphenated groups centered in their church. They patronized, as far as possible, merchants of their own nationality or faith. Newly arrived immigrants were assimilated into these hyphenated groups, the configurations of which remained much as they had been in the old country. Thus the attitude of the Irish people to their priest remained much the same as it had been in Ireland, that is, he remained not only their ecclesiastical father but also their authority in family, social and political matters. In order the better to control the young people, societies of Catholic young people were formed wherever Irish people were sufficiently numerous. The Welsh were less under the influence of their minister but they endeavored to maintain a Welsh-American group that would enable them more effectively to control their children and keep them from the influences to self-indulgence that were "spoiling" American born children.

The cause of this attitude of the hyphenated groups against the Americanization of their children is the same as the cause of the American farmer's attitude against his children's becoming like village children. As will be shown in Part II, the farmer was guided in his rearing of his children by his own rural attitudes and these were at many points opposed to the village attitudes. His own attitudes were not clearly conscious to him though they constituted the background of his character, so he was not clearly conscious of why he opposed the village attitudes. Just so the Irishman's or the Welshman's social attitudes were largely unconscious to him, but because of them he was constantly guarding his children against contrary American attitudes. In the case of the Irish people, their sense of opposition centered in their religious attitudes. They feared their children would cease to be good Catholics and this fear was fostered by the priest. The fear of the Welsh people centered in their attitude toward pleasure. They feared their children would become pleasure loving and get beyond the control of their parents.

The lines of rural development described in this chapter obtained throughout New York. The development was essentially a development of the community at the expense of the neighborhood. It came in the remote parts later than in communities near cities. In some

parts of the state the neighborhood still remains an essential configuration, but generally it has lost its importance. Nevertheless, neighborhood attitudes persist to this day, and this, in important respects, retards the adjustment of the farmer to his new conditions.

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

AGRICULTURE in New York began to experience a set-back after the prosperous Civil War period, as a result of the opening up of the entire western country by the building of railroads. The competition of western lands, with their superior soil and topography, was accentuated by the invention of farm machinery suited to the level land of the West. This competition depressed prices in the East and resulted in a decrease of the cultivated area of New York. The set-back to agriculture was made more serious by the ravages of insects and by the decrease of the fertility of the soil by constant cropping and defective methods of maintaining fertility. Specialized farming, particularly the constant planting of grain and hops, impoverished the soil. The growth of cities eventually encouraged more diversified farming, which is favorable to maintenance of fertility. The first period of expansion saw the decline of the wheat and hop industries because of their rise in more favorable sections of the West. The agriculture of the state inclined more and more to dairying, fruit-raising and the production of vegetables. This tendency toward diversified farming which developed during the first period of expansion continued on into the second.

The movement toward diversified farming did not mean a return to production for local needs. It meant the production for sale, in domestic and foreign markets, of the crops that were suited to the new conditions.[1] This production for sale either to near-by centers of population or abroad was due to the improvement of means of transport, to the rise of industrial centers in the state and nation and to the increase of the foreign trade of the United States. The agriculture not only of the state but also of the nation was thus subjected more than before to the vicissitudes of business. It not only affected but also was affected by the cycles of prosperity and depression of the time.[2]

Though the farmers suffered during this whole period because of the competition with the West, there were certain years when the

more capable producers could make money. There were two periods of this prosperity, one in the early eighties following the depression of the seventies, and the other in the early nineties.[3] The central purpose of Part I is to trace the effects of this economic prosperity on the behavior of the people. The prosperity of the farming population affected the villages; and in our analysis of the behavior of a community, we cannot differentiate between village people and farmers, because in the newspapers and church records and other sources of information on which we rely there is no such differentiation. Farmers' families took part in the new pleasures of the villages and supported the new features of church services and education. However, the new activities were largely due to the initiative of village people. Up to the first period of expansion rural attitudes had largely determined the behavior of the villagers; now the latter began to be influenced by the cities, with which the railroads had brought them into intimate contact, and the "old-fashioned" farmers had a growing dislike of these new village ways. In Part I, therefore, we shall have to consider primarily the villages, but also the rural population; then, in Part II, we shall return to our analysis of the farming population, to which *Our Rural Heritage* was devoted, and shall describe the changes in attitudes and beliefs that occurred in the intervening half century.

Our method in tracing rural development during the first period will be, therefore, to correlate social facts with the economic cycle of prosperity and depression. This was the method followed in my *American Town,* published in 1906. Since then, researches have increased our knowledge of economic cycles as social forces and have given additional proof of the theorem of the American Town, that is, that economic cycles affect not only business activity and the income of all classes but also politics, religious and educational activity and social pleasures. The effect is not only through the effect of the economic cycle on the income of people and this on activities that are dependent on income but also through the effect of the psychological states of optimism and pessimism produced by the cycle. Because of optimism people will go further in spending in a period of prosperity than is warranted by income, and, because of pessimism, they will abstain more in a period of depression than shrinkage of income necessitates. In politics and religion they will act in a way that can only be explained as due in part, at least, to the emotional states fostered by prosperity and depression. In correlating social facts with the economic cycle we are, therefore, using a method that can be used

in the study of rural populations throughout the world wherever modern economic organization has developed and wherever the necessary data are available. This procedure makes possible an application of statistical methods in testing the economic interpretation of rural development.

In making economic conditions vital in social change we must bear in mind that a comparatively few prosperous individuals in a community can make conspicuous changes in the pleasure activity of the community. A few prosperous individuals in a church can determine the activity of the church. They can start new educational ventures and new intellectual interests in the community. Wherefore, if the changes in pleasure, religion and education described seem to indicate greater prosperity than that which the rank and file of farmers enjoyed, it must be remembered that these changes were likely to be due to the initiative of village people, often, however, to men whose prosperity was closely connected with agriculture, as was that of dealers in farm produce. Some families were more interested in pleasure, others in the church, but the centers of influence were the unusually prosperous. Prosperous farmers were often among these leaders in social and church life. It was the exceptional farmer who was shrewd enough or lucky enough to make money in the period of agricultural setback in the East. But there were exceptional farmers in most communities. These shrewd men were not confined to highly speculative agricultural industries but were found in every industry. For instance, a very successful bee-keeper said, "Do you know when I made most money in bees? It was in the very worst years when other farmers were selling their bees in disgust. In such years I bought a big bunch of bees cheap and had them ready for next year's production." Some of these shrewd farmers in addition to farming gave some time to speculation in farm produce. Most communities had their successful speculators and these men usually were active socially and in the church so that they had a pronounced effect on the behavior of the community.

The westward migration did not by any means draw away from New York all the capable farmers. The West attracted many enterprising men, especially young men and European immigrants with little or no money. They went west where land was cheap at that time. It also attracted the incapable, those who wanted to make money without hard work and who were inclined to be discontented wherever they were. Men who had become successful farmers in New York and

who owned their farms were less attracted by the allurements of the West.[4] Thus the westward migration left in New York those who were best fitted by character and circumstances to withstand the unfavorable conditions produced by competition with the West.

We are concerned not with agricultural and economic changes, primarily, but with changes in the behavior of the population. This requires intensive analysis, so I shall center on our typical communities, particularly on the typical community. While doing this, the aim will be to pass over what was merely local and to describe changes that obtained more widely. The crops of the typical community, in the first period of expansion were, first in importance, hops, and second, dairy products. The annual value of dairy products varied from one-fifth to two-thirds of that of the hop crop. The hop industry in the state as a whole had a more restricted area than the dairy so that our community was somewhat less typical of the state than one in which dairying predominated. On the other hand, our community has this advantage, that the extreme fluctuations in the prosperity of the hop industry bring out in clear relief the effect of economic prosperity and depression on social behavior.

During the two prosperous stages of the first period of expansion, prices rose in almost all agricultural industries, as is evident from Table I in the notes, but some industries were more prosperous than others. The facts presented in Part I are facts concerning the more prosperous sections of the state. These farmers were not essentially different from others; merely their industries were more prosperous. The reactions to prosperity varied according to the degree of prosperity, from the pronounced changes in the behavior of prosperous farmers to the slight changes where prosperity reached a vanishing point. Also the reactions depended, as we shall see in Chapter XII, on the kind of people that composed the community, on the proximity of the community to the cities and on the previous experience of the community. It depended also on the spirit of the age. In the first period of expansion the enjoyment of varied pleasures was a new experience and the movement for higher education was hardly yet under way. In the second period of expansion there was prosperity during the World War, especially in the fruit growing sections of the state, and the prosperous families went into social pleasure impulsively, as did the prosperous families of the first period. But there was this difference: because of the changed conditions of the new century the people of the second period spent a larger part of their profits on the education of their children and

on their own education and a smaller part on mere enjoyment than did the people of the preceding period.

We turn to the agricultural conditions of our typical community. In New York hops were first cultivated in Madison County in 1816.[5] In our typical community they were first cultivated in 1836. The acreage in the state increased until in 1880 there were nearly 40,000 acres. The area of cultivation extended throughout the central part of the state, and there were smaller areas in the northern and western parts. The area was restricted to calcareous soils and areas with a moderately high summer rainfall.[6] In our typical community hop raising had, before the first period of expansion, become the chief agricultural industry. Over ninety per cent of the farmers raised hops. Almost all the hop farmers also kept cows but their interest centered in the hop industry and they ceased to "keep up with the times" in other lines. The hop industry continued predominant until 1900, when the competition of the West and the decreasing productiveness of the yards had so decreased its profitableness that farmers were diminishing their acreage and many of them were going out of business. Therefore, I shall confine my analysis of the relation of the hop industry to social changes to the period 1874–1900.

The similarity of the economic development of widely separated communities, and of communities with different agricultural industries, and the similarity of their social development as revealed in the files of village papers and church records, is quite surprising. For instance, in the mint section of western New York the price of mint varied from one to five dollars a pound in the first period of prosperity, and in the hop section the price of hops rose from twenty cents to one dollar a pound in the same period. This extreme prosperity affected the economic behavior of the farmers. The mint farmers thought they had a monopoly on the production of mint because only their muck land would produce it, and the hop farmers thought they had a monopoly because only their land would produce hops. So in both sections farmers bought land at extravagant prices in the boom years and, when prices fell, were financially embarrassed. The grain, animal, vegetable and dairy industries were prosperous at the same time, though in a lesser degree. At the same time with this prosperity of the agricultural populations surrounding the villages, factories were starting in the villages and the wages of the industrial population were rising. The files of the village papers afford evidence of the stimulus given social activities by this economic development. We find ar-

ticles on "The Steady Growth of Our Village," which record the number of houses being built and remodelled on each street of the village, and articles which show that villages were spending a good deal of money on village improvements, also news items indicating the organization of a variety of clubs of men and women for social pleasure, the building of halls for dances and theatres, the fitting out of roller skating rinks, the building or refurnishing of churches, the building of houses on fair grounds and of driving parks for holding horse races, the holding of expensive Fourth of July celebrations, the spending of money for furs, jewelry and travel, an increased consumption of liquor and the spread of temperance societies and crusades. This outburst of social activity is greater than in any succeeding period of village life. It seems to have been due to the economic prosperity and to imitation of the city and emulation of village by village.

The farmers, as we have said, were not outside this development. Essential for the farmer was the change from an economy in which he produced largely for his own consumption and for a local market to one in which he produced a money crop or crops so that his prosperity depended on the prices he got. Farmers generally were subject to the new conditions, though in certain industries they were, at first, less conscious of being subjected to the vicissitudes of the business world than in others. So our typical communities are typical of what all farmers sooner or later come to feel, that is, a loss of independence, an uncertainty due to their dependence on prices. In the early days when the farmer produced for his own consumption and for a local market, he was absorbed in the production of the crop itself. When he came to produce for a wide market, his prosperity depended on what the prices happened to be throughout this market, and his attention was on the selling aspect of his venture as well as on production. To the uncertainty of the weather and the seasons and other uncertainties of production was added the uncertainty as to the selling price. With this change in economic conditions came a corresponding change in attitudes. As long as he produced largely for his own consumption he felt his independence. He was dependent on his own production for the satisfaction of his needs. This attitude survived into the period of expansion. He still gloried in his independence. He felt that the world depended on the farmer while the farmer was independent. "The world is dependent on the farmer for our living comes out of the land" was the way he expressed it. "But," he added, "we have to take what they give us for our products." He perceived the dis-

crepancy between his traditional attitude of independence and the new economic situation. He felt that his attitude was no longer true to the situation. With this attitude were connected others, and the failure of his traditional attitudes to adapt him to his situation was making for some disorganization of character. Why be an industrious and persistent worker if the buyer of produce could make more money in a mere deal than the farmer made in the long, hard process of producing the crop? Why be honorable when dealers broke their promises to buy with any change in the price that made the contract unfavorable to them? Why be honest when there were no objective standards of quality by which a contract could be made definite, when the standards apparently existed only in the mind or whim of the dealer? This was a period of enlarging markets and indefinite standards, and the rural population lacked the intelligence for effective adjustment. It was a period of uncertainty, of more or less futile action according to attitudes of the past or of equally futile impulsive departures from those attitudes.

Among the causes of uncertainty, of course, the weather remained important. The effect of the weather on crops is such that it is impossible to regulate production to any great extent. A farmer may get two hundred bushels of potatoes to the acre one year and fifty bushels the next, the difference being entirely due to the weather. He may plant half the acreage of the year before and get twice the crop. So the adjustment of production to the conditions of the market is not possible as in manufacturing industry. The agricultural industries of the first period differed in their dependence on the weather. Dairy farming depended only slightly on the seasons, and the prices of products fluctuated little as compared with other industries. Wheat farming was more dependent on the seasons and the prices of wheat fluctuated more than those of milk. Hop farming was extremely dependent on the seasons and the fluctuations in prices were very great.

Uncertainty was due also to lack of standardization. In wheat there was an organized market with certain recognized grades of quality, which greatly reduced the uncertainty and the friction between growers and buyers. Milk was not standardized until toward the close of the first period. A quart or a pound of milk sold at the factory as a quart or a pound regardless of its quality. In the case of hops there was no understanding at all between farmers and dealers as to grades of quality. Each dealer had his own grades and, furthermore, the price he was willing to pay for a particular lot depended not only on

his opinion of its quality but also on whether or not he needed that particular lot to fill out a shipment of similar quality. Thus the farmer was uncertain as to the quality and value of his hops until these had been pronounced on by a particular dealer. Dealers, moreover, were often found to differ in their estimates.

Uncertainty may have one of two different effects: it may stimulate guess work and speculation; or it may challenge the intellect if there is knowledge at hand for the reduction of uncertainty and if farmers have been trained to make use of the knowledge. Until training has changed the habit of guess-work into that of using scientific knowledge, uncertainty stimulates hit and miss behavior. These diverse effects of uncertainty are found not only in agriculture but also in manufacturing and mining.[7] During the first period of expansion farmers in an uncertain industry were not well enough trained to make uncertainty anything but an occasion of speculation.

Let us note the effects of a very uncertain type of farming, hop farming. Its uncertainty was due, first, to its extreme dependence on the weather, particularly on the temperature and rainfall during the growing season and on the winds toward the end. Also, this crop was particularly subject to disease and injurious insects. Hop farmers knew little about how to treat hops for lice, mould, mildew, and this lack of knowledge increased the uncertainty of the industry. Second, there was the uncertainty due to the farmer's lack of business methods. Few farmers made any pretense to keeping accounts. They kept no record of their yearly acreage, of their yield from year to year, of their cost of production or of the prices received. They could not figure out the cost of production of their crop and hence were uncertain as to what constituted a reasonable average selling price over a period of years. Other reasons for the uncertainty were the lack of standard grades of quality and the lack of an organized market for buying and selling hops. As a result of all these conditions there was extreme uncertainty in the industry.

In studying the effect of the hop industry on the attitudes of the community, it is advisable to center on our typical community, for this makes possible a more concrete description. Almost all the farmers of our community were more dependent on the hop crop for their prosperity in the first period of expansion than on any other.[8] And various classes of the village—artisans, store-keepers, lawyers, doctors, house servants, laborers, ministers—were dependent on the prosperity of the farmers. This fact of the dependence of the village on the

prosperity of the surrounding country is generally true in the United States and is a key fact for the study of the psychological processes of the rural community.[9]

The prosperity of hop growers in any one year depended on two factors, the yield per acre and the selling price. The prices during the first period are given in Chart I, which is to be found in the notes. As to the yield it fluctuated a good deal but in the years of high prices there was a large town crop, which accentuated the prosperity. In one year of low prices, 1886, the town crop was a total failure. Wherefore we may use the selling price of hops as a rough index of the prosperity of the community.

The period of greatest prosperity was 1879–84. The period of 1890–93 also was very prosperous. The first period of prosperity, particularly, stirred in the community the most optimistic expectations. Voicing this spirit the new editor of the village paper wrote, in 1881, in declaring the policy of the paper: "Special pains will be taken with our local hop market. Blankville being the center of one of the largest hop-growing districts in the world, we shall endeavor to make the *Times* an established authority on all matters relating to hops from week to week. It is within the power of our readers to make Blankville what it should be, the leading hop market of this country." In the same number the village was referred to, in an article signed "Citizen," as the "great hop-raising centre of the state, with natural and material resources beyond those of most villages of its size; with churches, schools, opera house and local organizations—the peer of any village in the state." We note that, in both these effusions, though hops made the town great and though hops were raised in the rural parts, the effusions are entirely about the village. The village was the compact, self-conscious part of the community and the villagers had a sense of superiority over the farmer. Also it was the hop market, not the production area that was the center of interest.

It was in the speculative agricultural industries that interest shifted first from the production of a crop to its financial results. Among hop farmers interest shifted from the raising of the crop to the speculative selling of it in a very uncertain market. "What are hops bringing today?" became the most common salutation on the highways; and, on the village street, a familiar group was a circle of farmers discussing the hop market.

A differentiation early was visible in the reactions of the farmers to the speculative aspect of their industry. At one extreme was the

"conservative" farmer who continued to be more absorbed in producing than in selling the crop, and at the other extreme was the speculative farmer. Speculative farmers were in some cases descendants of men who had been proverbially fond of horse-trading. Horse-trading was more an affair of reckless adventure than of shrewd calculation, its fascination being due to the fact that "a horse is deceitful above all things." The distinctive attitudes of the conservative and the speculative farmers came out in two ways, first, in considering the problem of increasing their hop acreage in a time of prosperity and, second, in selling their crop. The conservative farmer clung to the old ideal of independence and persisted in raising much that he needed for his own consumption instead of devoting himself largely or exclusively to hop raising. "What I raise I shan't have to pay for. If I raise all I need there's no money going out and I am making a living, beholden to no man." The speculative farmer, however, on the advent of prosperity, turned all his available land to the cultivation of hops and bought his grain. Certain farmers not only put all their land under hops but also purchased more land at a high price. More shrewd farmers avoided extreme speculation but took bigger chances than the conservative farmer. When in 1895–96 hops sold below cost of production, the speculative farmer grew desperate, declared there was no longer any money in hops, and either greatly reduced his acreage or went out of the business entirely. He saw his mistake in abandoning hop raising for dairy or vegetable farming when, after the fair profits of 1898–1900, hops brought large profits in 1902–1904. The conservative farmer did not decrease his acreage during the years of depression but "stuck her through" along the customary lines, so that, when higher prices unexpectedly recurred, he had his customary crop ready for market. Thereupon he congratulated himself on his "good luck," as compared with his neighbor who had "plowed up" his hops.

The behavior of the conservative was distinguished from that of the speculative farmer also in the sale of the crop. The conservative was known to the dealer as the "hog-headed" farmer. His characteristic attitude to the dealer was one of suspicion and contempt, contempt for him as a man without the parts of a producer, suspicion of him as possessing some obscure money-making power and trying to get the best of the farmer. For several months preceding, during and after the hop harvest the hop area was canvassed by dealers and the farmers had frequent "offers" for their crop. The hog-headed farmer responded to offers in some such way as this: "No, sir, you don't get my hops

for no such price; I'll take — or nothing!" usually naming a trifle more per pound than he had been offered. Dealers often visited such a farmer several times and offered what the latter had said he would take on a previous visit, only to be met with the rebuff: "No, you don't get my hops for that price." Finally the dealer ceased to strive with him and when the price began to fall the farmer, only after being urged by his family and friends, "let his crop go." This experience was repeated very likely, year after year, until the farmer had won the title of a "chronic holder." "A chronic holder always sells on a falling market." More than one farmer, after holding his crop in this spirit until the price had fallen "away down," had been known to "bed his horses" with his hops rather than "knuckle down" to the dealer.

The speculative farmer was one who, when it came to selling his hops, "was always going to do something great." To the conservative farmer the raising of the crop was more interesting; to the speculative farmer the grasping of the "top price" in selling it. Despising the consistent holding policy of the conservative farmer, the speculative "switched around," holding one year and selling the next, as fancy took him or according to whether he "hit it" or "missed it," by holding or selling the previous year. The selling of the crop was in all cases an affair of reckless adventure, as reckless as horse-trading and it involved stakes enormously greater. In 1882 when hops rose to one dollar a pound, even the chronic holder became excited and wavered in his habitual practice of holding his crop, while the speculative farmer "went clean crazy" and bought hops at one dollar a pound. Not only farmers and dealers but also storekeepers, lawyers, physicians, bought hops at wildly extravagant prices and to many of them the crash brought loss and to some ruin. Speculation was not confined to hops. In 1883 a bucket shop was started in the village and within a few months much money was lost in stock-gambling. In addition to these losses much was spent in the billiard parlors and the saloon on the floors below the bucket-shop. This was, to be sure, an era of extreme recklessness, but speculation continued to be rife in every period of high prices.

The conservative farmer kept out of speculation but his traditional economic attitudes, like those of other farmers, were changed by his relations with the hop dealers. The hop industry offered great temptations to dishonesty. Each dealer had his own grades of quality which meant nothing to the farmer for, while he would admit that there were different qualities of hops, he would not admit that his own

hops were of poor quality or that the ideas of the dealer were any more than mere whims. Hence he who in relations with a neighbor scorned trickery often had no scruples against tricking the dealer in order profitably to circumvent his whims. In contracts for future delivery the farmer had abundant opportunity, by "rough" picking and rougher pressing of hops, to increase quantity at the expense of quality. Furthermore, both parties might repudiate their contracts whenever it was for their interest to do so, because the nature of a contract often made a legal enforcement difficult, or because enforcement required expensive litigation. These loose dealings in the selling of hops predisposed the farmer to loose dealings in other transactions. Talk with the village store-keeper and he would name one farmer "as honest as the day is long," but would become non-committal when others were mentioned. He knew who at least intended to pay his debts and who did not and would tell you that "the hop business has not tended to make men honest."

The farmer's relation with the dealer accentuated the attitude he had traditionally held toward traders generally. He felt that the dealer wanted to get his product at the lowest possible price; that he would take the product that the farmer had produced by the sweat of his brow and make a handsome thing out of it for himself. His attitude to the store-keeper was similar. He regarded prices as fixed more or less arbitrarily by the merchant with the purpose of exploiting the farmer. It was from this point of view that he interpreted the rising prices of a period of prosperity: "As soon as the farmer gets higher prices the merchants advance the price of their goods; so prosperity don't mean as much as you'd think."

The hop business also weakened the traditional attitude of generous helpfulness between neighbors. Farmers became rivalrous to get better prices than their neighbors and were jealous of the more successful among their number. They besought relatives and neighbors to sign notes with them that they might "carry" their hop crop for a higher price and refusals to do so or the losses that resulted from doing so generated ill-feeling.

The hop industry affected the attitude of thrift. When farming became specialized the farmer lived on his bank account instead of on what he produced. He was less thrifty and the village merchants took advantage of this to encourage their patrons to "run bills." The merchants were of two classes, the "conservative" merchants who kept only "what was called for," that is, who catered to the conventional

wants of the people, and the "enterprising" merchants who made much of show window displays and advertisements in the community paper. The farmer tended to "stick by" the conservative merchant. He calculated "that *we* have to pay for them arc lights and them show windows." However, the farmers' wives and daughters were attracted by the advertising and the show windows. The enterprising merchants also were willing to extend credit. When Mrs. A. evidently wanted something but had not the money to pay for it, the store-keeper suggested, "Your credit is good here, Mrs. A." The result was a good deal of "running into debt" in periods of prosperity. This was more prevalent in the villages than in the rural parts. Even servant girls deemed it a part of the program of a fine lady to "run a bill" at two or three different stores. Dry goods merchants noted with some interest that the proportion of the amount outstanding to cash received increased in times of prosperity and decreased in times of depression, when they would have expected just the opposite.[10] Apparently people were more careful in depression to buy only what they could pay for.

With the decline of the hop industry after 1896 came an increase of vegetable and dairy farming. Canning factories sprang up and furnished a market for vegetables and the business of shipping milk to New York increased. Dairying became the important industry of our community. The long absorption in hop raising had caused a neglect of dairying and the methods were antiquated. Some of the more enterprising farmers now turned their attention to the improvement of their herds and equipment, and conversation ceased to be about how the hops looked and what they were bringing and centered on the herd—how many pounds of milk this or that thorough-bred was giving. At the same time discontent developed over the low price of milk —not only in our typical community but throughout the dairy section of the state. The discontent was pronounced in sections like the hop section where the farmers had been used to the large but uncertain profits of the hop industry. These sections were prominent in the formation, in the late nineties, of the first association of milk producers for coöperative marketing, the Five States Milk Producers' Association.

The purpose of this association was to sell the milk of the members directly to consumers through its own agents. A majority of the farmers of our typical community joined this association. There was some delay in the association's taking over the milk of the

members and this caused a distrust of the leaders of the association. The individualistic farmer, quick to suspect others of trying to take advantage of him, believed nothing was being done because the leaders had been "bought off" by the "milk trust." And when the more intelligent farmers urged the rank and file to stand firm, the latter refused to renew their membership and declared that "the association won't get another dollar out of me." The farmer lacked the understanding of the situation that was necessary to sustain the coöperative movement He failed to appreciate the time and effort necessary for a coöperative enterprise of such magnitude to get under way. A labor organization will stand by a concerted movement which it does not understand because masses of laborers can be constantly in intimate personal contact and subject to the stirring speeches of their leaders. But the farmers of that day lived more isolated lives. The day of the auto and improved roads had not yet come.

The farmers of our typical community who had been leaders in the Five States Association believed that, if a coöperative movement was limited to the farmers of the community and if it was led by those farmers in whom all had confidence, it might be successful. So the farmers organized themselves into a company for making butter, erected a creamery and put it in charge of an expert butter maker. The large butter market of the city of A was conveniently near and the business was profitable. That is, the farmers got more for their milk than they had previously got by selling it to the company that shipped it to New York. Then the company raised the price paid for milk so that the farmers realized less profit by making butter at their creamery than by selling milk to the company. They left their creamery for the company in spite of the fact that butter making was profitable. They could not withstand the temptation to grasp the slightly higher price held out as a bait by the company. The creamery eventually passed into the hands of the company which then, to quote one farmer, "paid the farmers what price they d— pleased." This second failure of coöperation increased the farmers' distrust of one another. Some of the largest milk producers of the community were accused of having withdrawn their milk from the creamery because "they had been bought up by the company," that is, had been secretly given a higher price for their milk than was generally paid in order to draw milk from the creamery and so demoralize its business. However that may have been, it was evident that the farmer's individualism had asserted itself again.

After the failure of the creamery the farmers of the town were firmly persuaded that "somehow farmers can't stick together. You hold a dollar near enough to their eyes and it looks as big as the moon. They can't see anything else." The individualistic frame of mind had persisted in the new economic order and, in spite of the unfortunate position in which it placed the farmer, he seemed to be helplessly subservient to it.[11] In the early days coöperation was unimportant as compared with individual effort. Every farmer was "lord of his little world" and "lived off his land." His business activity consisted in taking a few dozen eggs or half a hog to town and "turning it into cash" to pay for the necessities he could not produce or to pay the doctor's bill or the church contribution. This narrow individualism still survived. As one farmer said: "The best way to do is to take your milk to no creamery and to no company, but to make your own butter in your own churn; then you're independent."

This dogged independence, however, could not last. As we have seen, economic attitudes were changing in the first period of expansion. The third generation from the settlers had come to young manhood and womanhood. They inherited the cleared land and farms that were paid for. Three types of farmers may be distinguished. There was the conventional type, which was still absorbed in crop production after the old methods and which maintained the rural heritage intact. There were also two types that had ceased to be absorbed in the process of work and had begun to awaken to its financial results. One of these types was the unusually intelligent farmer. In all agricultural industries—in the raising of potatoes and grain, in the production of milk, as well as in the more speculative—there were farmers who were getting improved seed, were using better methods of cultivation, an improved breed of cows and better dairy methods. This type of farmer was comparatively rare. The other was the speculative type. Most farmers of this type were mildly speculative. Their tendency was to "let down" a little from the strenuous life of their fathers and, while farming in the conventional way, to leave more to the hired man and try to make a little money by buying and selling produce. There were others who speculated more heavily. Many of these farmers lost more money than they made and their sons sought to profit by their failures. Thus each successive psychological stratum was formed on the preceding. The settlers and the next generation, who made the wilderness productive, knew what hardship was. The third generation realized the hardships

their fathers went through and were disposed to take life more easily. Some of them sought to make easy money by speculation. Finally, in the second period of expansion, the fourth generation, which had seen their fathers win and lose, and had seen farmers in general steadily losing ground before the shrewd dealer in farm products, formed their opinions on the basis of those experiences. Their opinions pointed to scientific farming and coöperative buying and selling as the next step in agricultural progress. In the second period this fourth generation had come to maturity.

CHAPTER VI

CORRELATION OF ECONOMIC FACTS WITH CHANGES IN SOCIAL PLEASURE

IN the early days the social pleasure, both of farmers and villagers, centered in the family and in the comradeship of families. Families were larger than today and the members were thrown more constantly with one another than in these days of varied outside pleasures and social duties. The social configurations of those days were more distinct than today, particularly the "family circle" and the "social circle" of neighboring families. Then outside pleasures began to increase. This is evident on reading the files of village newspapers. The building of railroads made it possible for professional singers, elocutionists, magicians and dramatic companies to find their way to the villages. It also increased the social visiting between the villages and the cities. The villagers were not long in imitating the teas, receptions and card parties of the cities, and the more "stylish" among the farmers' wives of the surrounding country had invitations to these village functions.

The result was a diminishing social importance of home life, at least in the villages. This change is reflected in the editorials and news items of the newspapers. In our typical community, newspaper exhortations as to the value of home life show the beginning of a drift away from it. In the files of 1873 we find the following; "The long evenings are now at hand. The season for the home pleasures comes with them. The lamp upon the center table with the group of allied hearts and happy faces gathered around it should now make a frequent and happy picture. Young men and old men, when your day's work is done, go home and make part of that best of social groups." How different is this strain from that which we have ten years later, on the occasion of the agreement of the merchants of the village to close their places of business at eight in the evening: "This will enable our hard-working merchants to enjoy the evening at the club or at the theatre." There were also news items of similar import. An issue of 1875 commends a series of sermons by the

Presbyterian minister on the following subjects: "Home and its Relations," "The Value of a Good Mother," "A Good Wife and What She is Worth," "The Husband at Home." This emphasis on the home was called forth by the already noticeable encroachment of outside pleasures on home life. In 1876 a society of married women discussed the theme, "How shall we make our homes attractive so as to keep our husbands at home evenings?"

The church was the staunch champion of home life as against the new outside pleasures. It could exert a strong influence in this direction because entertainments were given in the meeting houses (except dances, which were held in the taverns) so that no entertainment could be held of which the church did not approve. With the building of railroads, the number of entertainment companies increased and the question arose as to whether they should be allowed to perform in the churches. Many churches stood out against it and this stimulated the building of public halls and opera houses. Other social centers were the Grange halls. This increase of centers of social pleasure weakened the church's censorship of amusements. It also weakened the feeling against certain amusements. For instance, public dances were likely to be less intensely disapproved when they could be held in some place other than a hotel or tavern where liquor was sold.

In our typical community up to 1867, when the railroad was built through the town, all entertainments were given in the meeting houses. In 1859 the Baptist and Presbyterian churches refused to rent their meeting houses to "travelling readers and singers" and the local paper asked: "Who will subscribe toward a public hall, so that Blankville may enjoy equal privileges with other villages?" In 1867 a public hall was built. For over a decade after this, however, the church continued to make its censorship felt. It successfully opposed dancing, card parties and theatre-going so that the social events of the community still consisted largely of church festivals, sociables, picnics and donations. It was in the period of prosperity 1879–84 that social pleasures outside the church got their first great impetus. For instance, in our typical community, while the number of social events in the churches increased in this period, those outside the churches increased still more.[1] A new opera house was built in 1881, which gave an opportunity for more elaborate performances and other social functions than had heretofore been enjoyed.

The detailed analyses of the relation of changes in the social pleasure of our typical community to economic conditions are given in the notes.

In interpreting these analyses, it must be borne in mind that a form of pleasure stimulated by a period of prosperity often continued into the subsequent depression because, once learned, the pleasure was not readily relinquished. People enriched in a period of prosperity did not feel the depression enough to have their pleasures very much affected; then, too, inexpensive forms of pleasure, learned in prosperity, continued to be enjoyed in periods of depression.

Pleasures of Physical Activity

Among the changes in social pleasures that first became pronounced was an increase in pleasures of physical activity. In the rural districts the old pleasures continued—hunting and fishing, wrestling matches and tests of strength. In the villages and the rural parts near the villages there were also new physical pleasures. These first became conspicuous in the first period of prosperity. In our typical community they included baseball, archery, trap-shooting, polo, bicycling, bowling and roller skating. In the village in the first period of prosperity there were formed baseball, archery, gun, polo and bicycle clubs,[2] some of the members of which resided in the rural districts. There was also a public bowling alley in 1883–84 and a public roller-skating rink in 1884–85. The most remarkable display of physical exuberance in the history of the town was the roller-skating craze of the fall and winter of 1884–85. On every evening in the week and on Saturday afternoon crowds could be seen wending their way to the rink. Business men, lawyers, physicians, ministers, and their families, everybody, went. The races at the rink and the polo games between the village team and players from neighboring communities were the absorbing topics of conversation. Accidents did not dampen the enthusiasm. According to one old citizen, "the whole town was on skates." This craze spread from the village to some of the rural districts. Residents of The Center came to the village rink, while Blankwell fitted out a rink of its own. Interest in the sport continued unabated during the winter of 1884 but was perceptibly lower in 1885 and soon after died out. The baseball craze was less pronounced but of longer duration and reached its height in 1893. There was a pronounced foot-ball craze which reached its height in the fall of 1888 when, in the morning before school, at noon, and from four o'clock until dark, the meadows near the village high school were filled with boys of all sizes who, regardless of mud, rain or snow, played until

the snow became so deep as to make playing no longer possible. Football suddenly subsided the next year and was not revived again until 1899 when, under the influence of the principal of the high school, a few games were played with students of the high schools of neighboring communities. The increase in the number of athletic clubs after 1892 was due to the influence of the director of the new village Y. M. C. A.

The contagion and subsequent passing of these pleasures of physical activity, particularly skating, occurred in all the communities studied. The decline, through the period, in the zest for physical pleasures seems to have been quite general throughout the state. These pleasures continued but the contagion was less marked. One reason for the contagion was their novelty. When the novelty wore off interest waned and the pleasure subsided. Another reason was the new life of social rivalry. A population heretofore under the self-restraint of the early days was having its first taste of a new social life. Rivalrous behavior went to an extreme never before seen. A person could not stand the inferiority implied in not joining in what people were doing. Then rivalry became less keen when people began to see the folly of it. Another reason for the decline of physical pleasures was the decrease in the proportion of young people in the population. Another was the fact that the population became subject to new restraining influences. One of these was the influence of the leisure class. The leisure class was more imitative and formal than physically exuberant. The women and, to a certain extent, the men avoided manual work and physical activity and cultivated manners that implied leisure and an averseness to exertion as a mark of distinction between themselves and working people. This class was influential and there was an increasing imitation of the "dressed up," showy, physically weak and undemonstrative aspect of village life. It was an influence which tended to depress the spontaneity of animal spirits already diminishing with the decreased proportion of young people in the population. The "running and racing" of children up and down the village streets, through private grounds and over fences, so common in the early days, was now generally refrained from "for fear people won't like it." And the more uncommon such conduct became, the more intense became the intolerance of any breach of decorum.

This sentimental restraint of spontaneous physical activity and of everything savoring of roughness in behavior and conversation has always been furthered by public education. School teachers were

then, as they are now, under the social influence of a "cultured" class. Also, village schools did not offer opportunities for physical exercise. The school playground was too small. School athletics were limited to the boys who composed the teams and the mass of children were expected merely to stand by and cheer. The influence of the schools was against physical exercise; little was said about its importance and the pupils were absorbed in bookish learning. In the early days it was the custom for the children, after school, to help their parents in the work of the home and on the farm. But there had arisen a noticeable inclination to save children from this outside work so that nothing might interfere with their studies. The influence of the schools, therefore, tended to make children physically inert.

A third restraining influence was that of the austere people of the churches. These people regarded roller-skating and bowling as coarse and low amusements, and pleasures of physical activity generally as "a foolish waste of time" and hence "unprofitable." They distrusted the abandon of pleasure-loving people, as a dangerous influence on character. It was felt that it might unsettle the habit of having a set purpose and making everything bend to it, which was to them the keynote of Christian manhood. Thus a parent said to his son whom he had refused to allow to attend a roller-skating rink: "I don't want you to do anything that I can't pray for your success in." Later, however, pleasures of physical activity came to be regarded as compatible with religion. Through the influence of the Y. M. C. A., athletics came to be encouraged as a means of bringing boys under the influence of religious instruction. It had been observed that "a church member who is a good ball-player exerts a stronger influence for good than one who is not."

Pleasures of Display

In the more prosperous parts of the state, in the first period of expansion, there was an increased consumption of goods for comfort and display. In the rural districts goods that could be displayed along the highway and in the village increased first, as fancy harnesses, showy carriages and fast horses. The farm-house, also, was enlarged and repainted, the old fireplaces were closed up and stoves installed, and the house was refurnished, like village houses, with piano, brightly colored carpets, lace curtains, sideboard and writing desk. In the villages, also, goods of display increased, as fine clothing, luxurious house

furnishings, and fine equipages. This increased consumption became pronounced in the first period of prosperity. In our typical community the period 1879–84 was a prosperous one for the village carriage dealers and harness makers. The building of fine houses reached its height during this period in the rivalry of two men who lived directly opposite each other on the fashionable street of the village. One of these men built a very large frame house; the other said he would "go him one better" and erected a still larger house of pressed brick, profusely ornamented. During this period also there developed a pride in the appearance of the grounds surrounding the house. The lawn was the object of special pride. The lawn mower appeared in the rural neighborhoods in imitation of the village but, after a few years, its use greatly diminished in the rural districts. The diminishing prosperity compelled the farmer to curtail his hired help and he had no time to mow his lawn. In 1892, during the second period of prosperity, a Village Improvement Society was formed and, in imitation of this, a similar society was organized at The Center two weeks later. The object of both societies was to beautify the highways and parks of their respective communities and to stimulate the families to improve their premises. Again the illusive prosperity slipped away and these societies accomplished nothing.

Pleasures of Appetitive Satisfaction

The consumption of tobacco increased throughout the state in the first period of prosperity. The cigarette was introduced into this country by foreign visitors to the Centennial Exhibition of 1876.[3] The tobacco companies were quick to see the possibility of increasing the consumption of tobacco by stimulating cigarette smoking, for cigarettes were inexpensive as compared with cigars, and they started an enormous advertising campaign, particularly by the device of "cigarette pictures." School boys developed a craze to "get a collection" of these pictures of the soldiers of different countries, one picture being found in each package of cigarettes. The result was an immense increase of cigarette smoking among school boys and young men in spite of remonstrances of parents and teachers and the denunciations of the austere element in the churches. Here, as in physical pleasures, the craze seems to have been due in part to the novelty of the pleasure. In the first period of prosperity there was a great increase in liquor drinking in the village saloons both among farmers and villagers. As one of the

saloon-keepers of our typical town said of the first period of prosperity, "It was a gold mine for us." Another marked result of prosperity was the increased consumption of luxuries in food and drink, for instance, of ice-cream and soda water. It was in the second period of prosperity that the soda water fountains became common in the drug stores of the villages.

Pleasures of Novelty

All new pleasures were novel and this was one cause of the contagion of new pleasures. In addition there was a conscious seeking after novelty. Hostesses vied with one another in devising novel pleasures for an evening's entertainment. Guests who conducted themselves in a novel fashion were appreciated, though, to be sure, their behavior must not be "shocking." There seemed to be pride and enjoyment in getting away from the "sameness" that had marked the social life of the past. Later in the period this preference for novelty seems to have disappeared before the inclination toward formal functions in strict imitation of city usages.

Horse-Racing

One of the chief pleasures, both in village and country, was driving. Fast driving was what the farmer enjoyed. The young farmer's fondest boast was that no horse could pass him. Farmers could not come upon one another on the road without having a "brush." One of the results of the first period of prosperity was the buying of fast horses. This gave rise to the desire for better roads. In the country improved roads were too expensive to build but the villages purchased stone-crushers and built roads of crushed stone.

In our typical community in the first period of prosperity, the amount spent on the village roads doubled and then tripled. Then it dropped during the depression and then, in the second period of prosperity, rose again. After that it dropped to where it had been before the first period of prosperity and remained there. During the first period of prosperity there were frequent warnings in the village paper against fast driving on the village streets. This interest in horse-racing resulted in the formation of the Driving Park Association, in 1885, and the construction of a driving park. The prime movers in this enterprise included the hop dealers, retired hop farmers, merchants and manufacturers. An effort was made to give the enterprise an atmosphere of extreme pro-

priety, as may be inferred from the report in the village paper of the opening "meet" at the "Gentlemen's Driving Park": "There were nearly eight hundred ladies present. All passed off quietly and orderly, as the gentlemen who manage the park propose shall always be the case. It is a gentlemen's driving park for pleasure and is not run in the interest of sporting men. No pools were sold and no gambling device was allowed on the grounds." Gambling was allowed at the next year's meet, however, and thereafter. With the erection of the driving park the horse-racing craze reached its culmination; two meets were held in that year. Then interest in this sport began to wane and, after 1894, horse-racing had become a thing of the past.

Fourth of July Celebrations

Another form of pleasure that had a direct relation to prosperity was the Fourth of July celebration. This involved an expenditure of several hundred dollars which was raised by voluntary contribution. The celebration included a parade participated in by visiting bands and fire and military companies, and a display of fireworks in the evening. In our community the celebration of 1890 far eclipsed all others in splendor. One of the features was a horse-race at the driving park.

Theatre-going

Theatre-going was a pleasure of village rather than country people until the coming of the automobile. In several of our typical communities an opera house was built in the first period of prosperity. In Blankville the theatre was built in the first period and the number of "shows" reached a maximum in the second period of prosperity.

Travelling

The extension of railroads and the periods of prosperity resulted in a great increase in travelling for pleasure, particularly of trips to summer resorts and to Florida in the winter.[4] The village people predominated, of course, in the trips to summer resorts; the proportion of farmers was greater among those who went to Florida, because farm work is slack in winter.

Parties

The exuberance of the first period of prosperity found expression in the old-time pleasures of singing and dancing. Not until travel had made the people of the villages acquainted with the parties of city people did euchre parties, luncheons, dinners, teas, at-homes and receptions become part of the social pleasure of the villagers. Interest in music diminished during the period and card playing and dancing increased. In the first period of prosperity dancing increased and orchestras multiplied to meet the increasing demand for dance music. Card playing, a cheaper form of amusement, shows less connection with economic conditions, though expensive card parties were more common in periods of prosperity. Both dancing and card playing assumed, at certain times, the aspect of a craze. And this gave point to the argument of the austere that the danger of these amusements lay in people's being carried away by them and so made unfit for work. Fashion largely determined the kind of card game played; the euchre craze and the whist craze had their day in due subservience to city style.

In our typical community various clubs were formed for social pleasure, including card, dancing, musical and other social clubs.[5] While these amusements were enjoyed during the entire period, yet interest in first one, then another, predominated. Dancing received a great impetus in the first period of prosperity and predominated during the second period. The dances of later years, particularly in 1898 and after, were of the informal kind that were held whenever a travelling harpist or other cheap musician could be secured.[6] Of luncheons, dinners, teas, at-homes and receptions the village paper records none until 1880. From that year the number increased and reached its height in 1886, after which there was a decrease until 1893, when the figure of 1886 was again reached. Thus these functions increased in both periods of prosperity. They involved a good deal of expense, which increased as rivalry in display grew keener. Hence it is obvious why the greatest number should occur during or directly following periods of prosperity. Up to 1890 the employment of orchestras and caterers from the city of A was infrequent, in 1890–93 frequent, after 1893 very rare. These expensive social functions did not become frequent until the second period of prosperity because they were "city ways" which were not learned at first.

The Grange

The Granger movement, which started in 1867 and soon reached national proportions, spread throughout New York, not as an economic and political movement, as in the West,[7] but as a purely social one. It filled a social need through its regular meetings which furnished opportunities for social life. These meetings are referred to in the files of village papers in various parts of the state. There were discussions of agricultural topics, occasionally a discussion of free-trade and protection or some other political issue, but above all there was a good time. In some communities the Grange became the center of the social life of the entire community, villagers as well as farmers; in others it remained distinctly a farmers' organization. In addition to the good time and the dissemination of information on agriculture, the Grange was an organization for the formation of rural opinion; and the State Grange has always voiced, to some extent, the sentiment of the farmers of the state on public questions.[8] Not until the second period of expansion, however, as we shall see, did the Grange begin to realize its possibilities as an organization for rural progress.

In our typical community the Grange filled by far the most important place in the social life of the community. It was organized in 1874 with its meeting place in the village. The purpose of the society was twofold, to enable the farmers to buy their supplies at wholesale prices and to bring them together in social intercourse. Only the latter purpose was realized. In a paper read before the society by a charter member in 1903, its activity was described as follows: "In those early days we came at two P. M. and had a business meeting, with a short literary program . . . after which we had a social hour, reaching home in time for milking and supper. . . . The Grange has been the trysting place . . . where the farmers have come after the labors of the day were completed . . . bringing their wives and children to spend the first and third Thursday afternoons for six months of every year since 1874. It is here they have come to throw dull care away, and to discuss the best methods of raising grains, hops and potatoes, and to beat their brother Grangers at their favorite game of 'seven up.' And when W—— S—— could be persuaded to bring his violin, we had money musk, Virginia reel and the good old squares." "It is here they have come with the same feeling of freedom which surrounds their own hearth-stones; and what

balm it has brought to their troubled spirits when they have gazed upon the hurricane's blast and ruin of their fine hop yards, to learn that their brothers' yards . . . were just as badly damaged as their own. Although we have not made much use of the privileges of buying at wholesale, we have enjoyed to the utmost the social clause; always coming with a happy-go-lucky feeling, ready to eat, drink, and be merry, and to enter into any amusements offered."

The Grange was the center of the social life of the villagers as well as the farmers. Up to 1883 with the exception of one couple, only bona fide farmers were admitted to membership.[9] The charter member above quoted wrote: "No one in that period (1874–83) was eligible but a true blue working farmer excepting Dr. B—— and wife. There were no musicians in the order and, after many consultations and some stretching of the by-laws, it was decided to take this outside couple in, as it was very important that we have music." In 1884 two more persons not owning or working farms were received, in 1886 two more, and in 1890 the number of such members was fifteen. Finally, of the one hundred and two families represented in the Grange in 1900, seventy-three were residents of the village and few of these village members were engaged in farming or owned farms. The reason for this change from a rural to a village organization is not difficult to find. During the first period of prosperity the farmers were so absorbed in their personal affairs that interest in the Grange declined. It was no longer necessary to think of economizing by obtaining supplies at wholesale prices, so that whatever plans might have been on foot to this end were now forgotten. Furthermore, in periods of prosperity activity is individualistic rather than social. The comfort derived from sympathy in times of adversity, quoted above as one of the blessings of the Grange society, was not needed in years of prosperity. The first period of prosperity was, therefore, unfavorable to the Grange and, when prosperity had passed, certain changes had taken place. Some of the members had moved into the village and many of those who remained on their farms had extended their acquaintanceship in the village and wished their village friends to become members of the Grange with them. For this reason the society began to admit to membership people who did not own or work farms. Thus the social feature became the exclusive one.

The increase of village influence in the Grange caused the early fellow feeling described by the charter member to diminish before the increasing tendency to imitate "new fangled" pleasures of the near-by

city. The rural members felt less and less "at home" in the Grange, and some of them for that reason withdrew from the society. The trend away from rural ways was increased by the policy, begun in 1889, of receiving young people into membership. Though the affairs of the Grange always were administered by the older people, yet, in the social life, which was the chief feature of the organization, they felt more and more called upon to "take a back seat."

Another development of organizations for pleasure in the first period which, however, was limited largely to village people, was that of secret societies. The austere people at first opposed secret societies but eventually ceased their opposition and began to join them. The growth of secret societies marked the passing of extreme individualism in social pleasure. During the first and second periods of prosperity there was keen rivalry between individuals in display of wealth, particularly in giving elaborate parties and receptions. The man who could stand the expense of a costly function was the one who won social distinction. After the second period of prosperity this rivalry largely ceased. Prestige came to depend more on membership in influential organizations. Furthermore, this membership brought wealthy men regularly into intimate relations with others, in which relations they could enjoy their prestige. In our typical community in 1892 the village paper recorded as the "social event of the season" a party given in the finest hall of the town by two hop dealers. In 1901, however, the social event of the season was a reception given on New Year's day by the Masonic Society "in their magnificent new temple."

The trend in the villages toward city influences and away from rural traditions increased the feeling of difference between village and country people. In the rural districts fellow feeling diminished between those farmers who cultivated village associations and those who were averse to them. Among the farmers there was a general decrease of fellow feeling because of differences in wealth and because they were not so dependent on each other as formerly when the community was isolated from the world.[10] The disappearance of the old-time fellow feeling is seen in the history of the annual town fair. A fair was an occasion where farmers met in a crowd of their kind for a renewal of fellow feeling at a time of prevailing good feeling because of the harvest just gathered in. They jostled each other at the horse race, vied with each other in tests of strength and compared the exhibits of live stock, vegetables and fruits. These old-time town fairs still persist in certain

isolated parts of the state where other old customs persist. Not so in our typical community. Up to 1883 the account of the fair given in the community paper consisted mainly of a detailed description of the exhibits with the names of those who received premiums. After 1883 there was no description of exhibits, and, after 1885, the names of those who received premiums were not given, though there still were exhibits and premiums. The account was confined to the horse race and the balloon ascension. The interest in the fair part of the entertainment, that is, in the exhibits of the products of the soil and the renewal of fellow feeling was a thing of the past. Efforts to maintain the fair, for instance, by the introduction of acrobats and parachutes, were without avail and after 1891 the town fair had become a thing of the past. In the second period the automobile made it possible for large numbers of farmers to go to distant fairs and the county and state fairs had a considerable development. These were less occasions for a renewal of fellow feeling than the old town fair and more opportunities for diversion and education.

The development of social pleasure described in the preceding paragraphs was, for the most part, disapproved of by the austere people of the villages and the rural districts. Horse-racing was regarded as a low amusement and betting as sinful. In spite of this opposition, however, the church saw its members becoming more and more interested in horse-racing. The same was true of other proscribed amusements. In many churches there had long been members who "wanted to play cards and dance but dasn't do so for fear of the church." Many of these now went to an extreme, as the result of an impulsive reaction again the traditional austere control of the church. There seemed to be a pleasure in the defiance of this control, as well as in the amusements themselves. This defiance at first called forth the denunciations of the austere people, particularly during the revivals in the winter, the high spots in which were the evangelist's sermons against card playing, dancing and other "low" amusements. This remonstrance grew weaker, however, as revivals came to awaken less and less feeling until finally most churches ceased openly to condemn card-playing and dancing.

The essential cause of this conflict over social pleasure was the survival of the attitude of self-restraint inherited from the early days which conflicted with impulses stirred by the prosperity, the greater leisure and the new social contacts of the period of expansion. Those in whom the sentiment of self-restraint was pronounced distrusted

the tendencies to self-indulgence that became prevalent in the period of expansion. Neither the austere nor the convivial believed that people are entitled to a good deal of discretion in their own recreation, regardless of austere attitudes on the one hand or the pleasure-seeking impulses of the crowd on the other. However, people who were conscious of personal impulses for self-development that impelled them to resist both austerity and conviviality were the rare exception.

The strife between the austere and the convivial involved, of course, both sexes. Heretofore woman's sphere had been in the home. The man had enjoyed some pleasures outside the home but woman had none except an occasional church "doings." In the new social life the women, particularly, found vent for their social impulses. Hence the "frivolity" of the period, which was opposed by women who championed the old-time austerity. The latter sometimes expressed their views in the files of the village papers. We find such expressions in the years following the Civil War but they practically ceased before 1880. By that time "frivolity" had become so common among influential women that the papers no longer carried articles against it, though the strife between the two parties continued. Some of the early articles show the austere attitude at its best. For instance, an article written by a woman in 1869 maintains that while woman's proper sphere is the home, many are not content to remain in the home but "follow fashion and its follies." Their besetting sin is "the spirit of rivalry, the desire to outshine each other in dress, houses and furniture. Mrs. A. has large parlors filled with costly furniture and gives grand entertainments; Mrs. B. must therefore do the same thing, never considering the difference between the means of A. and B. Many a man has been driven to ruin and disgrace by the mistaken vanity of his wife. Such a woman is, in my way of thinking, very much 'out of her sphere.' " On the other hand, she says, there are reasons why women should not stick too closely to the beaten track of custom. "Let a woman but step from the beaten track of custom and who is so ready to denounce her as her sister woman." Women lack charity, she says, for women who are doing the uncustomary thing. "There are women whose whole lives are a perpetual blessing to those around them, who see in the great drama of life something of more importance than the cut of a new sleeve pattern or the giving of a stiff tea party, who are not afraid or ashamed to do that which they know is right in every place and under all circumstances. Such women are never 'out of their sphere.' " We do not find such articles as these in

the first period of prosperity or after, not because such women did not continue to exist but because such articles were contrary to the spirit of the influential class of the villages. While the austere attitude seems strong and superior when set forth by a woman of intellect and independence, we must bear in mind that women had heretofore been absorbed in the home and socially subservient, and the new life of pleasure was the first step in a more positive social existence for the mass of women. The mass were not intellectual or independent and so their pleasures often took the direction of vanity and display.

In our description of the social pleasure of the first period of expansion, we have noted that the customary forms of social pleasure first increased in importance—music, dancing, horse-racing, liquor drinking. There were organizations for the enjoyment of these old-time pleasures designed to give them a crowd enthusiasm. And there were variations in them intended to give them aspects of novelty. There were also new pleasures, imitated from the cities. Each form of pleasure satisfied certain dispositions. Take card playing for example, which filled so prominent a place in the social life of country and village. We cannot explain why it filled that place until we understand the dispositions that it satisfied. Some people played cards for the enjoyment of their own cleverness. Others "played to win," "as if their life depended on winning the prize." They wanted the prize for the thing itself or as a visible sign of superiority. As was said of some of the village card players: "They don't think a card party amounts to anything unless a prize is put up." They play "to beat" and "get mad" at a poor partner who prevents their side from winning. Other people cared little about clever playing and little about winning but played "just to be in the swim," just to be doing as others did. Still others cared little about playing or winning or being in the swim but played in order to please those who liked to play and to enjoy their companionship. Cards seemed, for certain reasons, to be more necessary for sociability than formerly. In the early days when a housewife went over to the neighbor's house to spend the afternoon, they passed the time sewing, talking about their work and gossiping. Later, in the villages at least, women were less constantly industrious and there was a growing tendency to condemn gossip. The afternoon dragged unless there was something to do, and card playing served that purpose.

It is necessary not only to analyze the processes involved in each form of pleasure but also to combine the results of these analyses in

order to ascertain what processes predominated in the social pleasure of a community. Rivalry was one of the processes that predominated in the social pleasure of the first period of expansion. The pleasures of physical activity were games of rivalry in skill and endurance. Horse-racing was rivalry. Rivalry entered into liquor drinking and cigarette smoking, for young men gave themselves to these indulgences "to be smart," that is, to show superiority in daring to do what public sentiment disapproved of. This motive of smartness became pronounced in the second period when selling liquor was forbidden by law and people bought it or made it to be smart in defying the law. The buying of "smart" turnouts, the rebuilding and refurnishing of the house, the improvement of lawns also were stimulated by rivalry. So was much of the travelling done. For pleasure trips were taken not so much to see great cities or famous scenery as to do what the superior people of the community were doing, to have one's name on the register of a well-known hotel at a famous resort for a few days and to have the fact mentioned in the village paper. In the luncheons, dinners, at-homes, receptions given by various individuals rivalry was essential. So it was in the functions given by organizations. People joined organizations for the prestige of such membership. Individually they could not afford to give lavish entertainments. In the functions of their organization they shone according to their "good looks," dress, grace and manners, cleverness or merely as members of that important organization. This spirit infected every social organization, even the Grange. If we are to interpret the social life of the villages and country districts we must, therefore, give a large place to rivalry.

Two characteristics of the rivalrous disposition account for certain aspects of the pleasure activity of the first period of expansion. First, rivalry tends to cause any line of behavior subject to that urge to be carried to an extreme.[11] This accounts for much of the extreme indulgence in certain pleasures and for the extreme display of the wealthy. Second, the rivalrous disposition is never completely satisfied for there is always somebody a little more clever or who has a little more money with which to make a display.[12] Hence the restlessness of the pleasure seekers of this period. They were never quite satisfied with their social position. Their pleasure was not pure relaxation; they were seeking to jar the complacency of those who thought they were the social leaders.

As a result of the economic development the material satisfactions

of the rivalrous disposition were more and more unequally distributed. In the early days rivalry was manifested incidentally in the course of work in the fields. Also farmers liked to have their crops look as well as a neighbor's and to get as good a price for their products. But rivalry did not lead to social pleasures in which superior wealth could be displayed. With the development of village life in which people were more intimately associated than in the country rivalry in display grew keener; impulses to display material evidences of superiority were more insistent and the sense of bafflement on the part of those who could not display such evidences was more annoying than heretofore. The satisfaction not only of rivalry but also of other dispositions was more unequally distributed. For the sympathetic disposition the social means of satisfaction are as important as the material, and these were unequally distributed. The well-to-do had more of the social contacts that are necessary for the satisfaction of sympathy than the poor. In the early days even the humblest family sometimes found itself indispensable in a time of sickness in the neighborhood. And in the social gatherings all were alike welcome. In the period of expansion the poorer families were more thrown by themselves. They were not needed in sickness and were not wanted at social functions. Though the well-to-do had better opportunities for indulging sympathy, as well as for satisfying rivalry, the trend of their behavior was altogether in the direction of the latter satisfaction.

CHAPTER VII

CORRELATION OF ECONOMIC FACTS WITH CHANGES IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY

THE increasing enjoyment of social pleasure diminished interest in religious doctrines and services. The church ceased to be the only agency for relaxation from the work of life. Though interest in doctrines diminished, orthodoxy was not perceptibly shaken. Especially in the rural parts it remained unshaken. The interest of the orthodox centered, as before, in the eternal salvation of their own families. The minister, in his appeals for money for missions or for "special meetings," sometimes rebuked the self-centered family with the story of the prayer of a certain farmer "God bless me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four and no more." As a text on this occasion he took the parable of a certain rich man whose ground brought forth plentifully and who pulled down his barns and built greater ones that he might have a place wherein to bestow all his fruits and his goods, but of whom that night God required his soul. There was ever this conflict between the point of view of the old-time individualistic family that was centered on accumulation and on its own salvation and the point of view of those whose religious behavior was subject to the influence of changed economic and social conditions.

The files of papers up to about 1880 contain comparatively little news of churches except of revivals and occasional debates on theological subjects. After 1880 there is more church news, particularly notices of the subjects of sermons and reports of sermons and of musical programs. This was probably due to the greater activity of clergymen, in this period of extraordinary village activity, in getting their church affairs before the public. News of revivals continue for a time, but accounts of theological controversies cease and ministers begin giving lectures during the week on poetry, history and current topics. In church services there was evidently a decreasing interest in the preaching and devotional parts of the service and a growing prominence of social and esthetic features. Rural people always had enjoyed the sociability of Sunday meeting and the occasional church

suppers during the week. But the social life of the village church now began to take on features foreign to the old days, features which made the church less distinct from the "world" than formerly. Church people of the villages began to indulge more and more in the pleasures of the world, and the result was an increasing sense of difference between rural and village church members.

One of the results of the increase of village influence in the churches was the passing of the revival. The revival was based on the traditional theology of an angry God and eternal punishment, to escape which the individual must be saved. People became more indifferent to these theological beliefs, as a result of the increasing absorption in pleasure, and the appeals of the evangelist lost their force. For instance, in our typical community the village paper in 1888 printed the following extract from the O—— F—— *News*, a weekly paper published in a village of a neighboring community: "The Baptist minister of Blankville has invited an evangelist to come and conduct revival services this week. As an offset to these meetings, which occur every evening, the young people will give a masquerade ball Friday evening. Is it quite appropriate that dancing parties should be given in Lent? The week of prayer was opened by a large leap-year party and then followed by religious meetings, but the meetings seemed to do no good." Thus the increasing conviviality was regarded as one cause of the failure of revival efforts.

Evangelists denounced the convivial church members as sinners. The members objected to being called sinners merely because of their love of pleasure. They did not want to be classed with skeptics. They were not averse to the Christian beliefs, at least in so far as these beliefs did not interfere with their pleasures. In addition to these church members there were many regular attendants at church who regarded themselves as Christians. The evangelist declared there was no difference between these pleasure loving church attendants and the people of the world. But they withstood the evangelist. His doctrine of eternal punishment was no longer credited as it had been before. As the community gave itself to social pleasure it lost interest in doctrines and defied those who held them up as a restraining influence.

Another evidence of the change in religion in this period was the weakening opposition to liquor drinking. The increase in drunkenness in the first period of prosperity led to temperance crusades throughout the state. In 1883 in our typical town the Methodist people engaged a temperance lecturer to hold meetings in their church. The speaker's

addresses consisted of depicting the lost condition of the drunkard and of those who by their example tempted men to drink. "You are your brother's keeper," he warned. Men must become converted for only thus could they be saved from temptation. After four weeks of meetings, toward the close of which the excitement became intense, four hundred persons had signed the pledge to total abstinence. Of this number over three hundred were already total abstainers, who signed in order not to be a "cause of stumbling before their weaker brethren." Less than a hundred of the signers had been drinkers, and some of these did not keep their pledge very long. In 1886, the village paper printed the names of the four hundred and added the sententious comment: "If all these people are keeping their pledge, who are supporting the eleven saloons of this village, a greater number than has existed ever before in our history?" In 1886 another temperance lecturer held a series of meetings but failed to arouse interest. From this time opposition to liquor drinking diminished. Champagne and other liquors came into greater use for social functions and there was more drinking than formerly both in saloons and at home.

People thus given to self-indulgence did not quit the church but attended the church which did not condemn their behavior. Consequently certain churches came to include those who had money and leisure for self-indulgence. In our typical community the Presbyterian church had become the fashionable village church as early as 1873, when it erected a new edifice which was much the finest in the village. When the building was completed and the auction of sittings began, the strife for the chief seats was so animated that the president of the village paid $100 for the first choice, in addition to the rental, while the second choice went for $40 and the third for $30. It is evident from the files of the village papers that this practice of auctioning sittings obtained in other parts of the state, at least in the more prosperous villages and the churches attended most largely by the well-to-do.

Attendance at the fashionable church was one means of increasing one's prestige in the community. Church attendance also continued to be, as in the early days, a visible sign of submission to the canons of social propriety. For many who were extremely self-indulgent during the six days Sunday was a day for displaying before the assembled citizens their inclination to submit to the requirements of social propriety. They listened humbly to whatever homilies against worldliness the minister might deliver. Their reverent attitude at the

service made them appear to their fellow citizens "not so bad after all." Thus church attendance conferred a certain measure of respectability.

The first period of prosperity stimulated the village churches to greater activity. The ministers began advertising the church services in the village papers. In our typical town they regularly advertised the subjects of sermons. This was begun by the Presbyterians in 1884 and by the Baptists later in the same year. In 1885 the Methodists advertised subjects or sermons for thirty-eight Sundays, the Presbyterians for thirty-four, and the Baptists for twenty-five. In 1886 the Methodists had ceased to advertise, in 1887 the Baptists and in 1888 the Presbyterians. Thus the advertisement of sermons practically ceased after 1888, owing to a waning interest in sermons and, as we shall see, to an increasing interest in other parts of the service. The decreasing interest in doctrines and preaching was more evident among village than country people. The doctrines were not disputed but people did not care to hear about them. The unpleasant subjects of original sin and eternal punishment were not in harmony with the prevailing good feeling and zest for social pleasure. But Sunday was still carefully observed. The week-day pleasures were abstained from on Sunday. The card or dancing party was scrupulously brought to an end at midnight on Saturday. At the club the game of billiards was finished before twelve o'clock. However, there was less interest in the Sunday service, and particularly in the sermon than formerly. If they must have them the people wanted short sermons and "practical," not doctrinal ones.

Music was advanced to the place of first importance in the service. One of the first effects of prosperity on the churches was the improvement of the musical part of the service. This is evident in the files of papers throughout the prosperous parts of the state. In our typical community in 1882 the Presbyterian, Episcopal and Baptist churches purchased organs at a cost of $3,000, $2,000 and $1,000 respectively.[1] Then more expensive organists were engaged to play on the new organs and paid singers were felt to be necessary. Then began advertisements of church music. In 1884 and 1885 the Baptist church advertised in the village paper the subject of the Easter sermon; in 1886 there was, instead, an elaborate program of Easter music. The Episcopalians also advertised their Easter music in 1886, the Presbyterians followed in 1888, the Methodists in 1891, and the custom was continued from this time on through the period except in the Baptist church, where it was discontinued after 1887.[2] The innova-

tion of a paid choir always had been obnoxious to the austere members of the Baptist church, one of whom, when approached for a contribution to the church music, denounced the choir loft as "the devil's corner." This party gained strength and finally, in 1888, at the culmination of the annual winter's revival meetings the austere element found itself in the majority. The paid choir leader was discharged and the organist replaced by one less expensive. The other churches continued their increased expenditures for music and in two churches these reached a maximum in the second period of prosperity.

The encroachment of pleasure on traditional religion was, of course, most conspicuous in those churches which contained the largest proportion of well-to-do and wealthy members, for these classes had money and leisure for enjoyment of pleasure. So, certain churches came to be more largely churches of village people, for the well-to-do and wealthy congregated in the villages, and certain others more largely churches of the farming population. In our typical community the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches became predominantly village churches and they counted in their congregations most of the persons of wealth and social distinction of the village. So these became the churches of prestige. At an afternoon tea given in the village in 1902, which was regarded as the social event of the season and was attended by the women of the high social class excepting a small and very exclusive set in the Episcopal church, about forty-three Presbyterian and eight Episcopal families were represented, but only two Methodist and no Baptist families. Another illustration of the social differentiation of the churches is furnished by an Old Home Week picnic held in the village park in August, 1902. It was a basket picnic with speeches by natives of the town who had won fame in the cities. Every family in rural Blanktown had been personally invited to be present, and every family in the village was invited through notices from the pulpits and in the village paper. However, only seventy-eight persons were present and of these, forty-nine were Presbyterians, twenty were Episcopalians, four were Methodists, two were Baptists, and three were not members of any church. Despite the effort to make it a town picnic only eight persons were present from the rural districts. The farmers and most of the village people kept away because they regarded it as "an affair of the 'tonies' of Blankville." One of the significant events of the occasion was in connection with a speech by an old gentleman in which he said that one of the finest characteristics of the life of the early days was the absence

of class feeling. Though the speaker evidently expected his point to be applauded, not a hand-clap was heard. The increasing coöperation of Episcopalians and Presbyterians, whose distinctive doctrines and ritual were as widely different in 1900 as in 1875, shows a decreasing interest in doctrines and an increase in the importance of their like attitude toward pleasure.

We have seen that one of the effects of prosperity in the rural districts was to cause the more easy-going farmers to move into the village while the austere remained on their farms. Thus the rural neighborhoods selected the one type and the villages the other. Just so the churches which drew their memberships largely from the rural districts selected the austere from among the entire population, village and rural, while the churches which drew their memberships more largely from the villages selected those inclined to the new social life. This selection, once started, was accelerated by the feeling which it developed. The attitude of the austere was rendered more uncompromising by the feeling against them on the part of those who took part in the new social life, while the latter went to an extreme because of their defiance of the austere. But there were unlooked for changes in the attitude of the austere churches. The attitude of the rank and file of a church was derived from that of leading members, and comparatively slight considerations sometimes caused a change among the latter. A lucky turn in a man's prosperity or new associations or the influence of children away at school might incline him more favorably to the new social life. There was a gradual wearing down of the austere attitude before the increasing prosperity and the trend toward freer enjoyment.

Among the austere were to be found people of intellect as well as of great strength of character. They were not merely conservative. Because of their capacity for work and reflection they did not enjoy the pleasures to which so many people gave themselves; those pleasures seemed silly. These talented people aimed to foster musical tastes and intellectual pursuits in their children. To them the popular pleasures were not so much sinful as futile. They felt that, quite apart from the question of the sinfulness of pleasure, success in any calling in life depended on their children's acquiring power of reflection and concentration and self-restraint and that these traits could not be acquired too soon.

As religious interest waned and the trend toward pleasure increased, serious minded people grew less interested in the censorship of the be-

havior of the community and there developed an increased interest in missions. The heathen were thought to be more open to religious appeal than the hardened sinners at home. It was commonly said that "the church doesn't seem to have any more effect on people," meaning the people at home. In our typical community in the first period of prosperity the churches considerably increased their expenditures for parochial purposes but there was not a corresponding increase in expenditures for missions. In 1887 there was a great increase and in 1891–93 a still greater increase in missionary contributions.[3]

The decreasing interest in doctrines resulted in a weakening of the sectarian attitude because of the decreasing interest in the doctrines that distinguish different sects. Yet there was not in this period any appreciable desire for church unity. The churches were divided by their different attitudes toward the new social life and by their rivalry to gain members and to outdo one another in the attractions of their meeting houses and services. In our typical community there were various unsuccessful attempts at inter-church activities. There was formed in 1883 a training class for Sunday school teachers. It included the teachers of the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian Sunday schools and the superintendents of the schools in turn instructed the class. This continued only a few months; the Presbyterians failed to attend in numbers when the class was taught by a Baptist and the Baptists when the class was taught by a Presbyterian. A similar attempt in 1892 likewise failed. In 1890 there was formed an interdominational society for self-denial which, however, was made up largely of Baptists. The object was to carry on a crusade for self-denial by printed articles in the village paper, by exemplary self-denial and by substituting "wholesome pleasures" for dancing and card playing. However, the society accomplished nothing and soon ceased to exist. Other inter-church activities were the occasional union services that were held by the Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist and Welsh Congregational churches. The village paper shows these services to have been most frequent in the years 1883–84 and 1890–94 and 1900. In other years they were held rarely or not at all. While there was quite a pronounced movement toward union services in the villages during the first period, the tendency was for each church to maintain its separate existence as doggedly as ever and the result was the continuance of the enormous waste of money and duplication of effort resulting from too many churches.

As the minds of church members broadened beyond mere doctrine,

they developed philanthropic interests and there was an increase of societies for the relief of the poor. These societies were avowedly non-sectarian but tended to fall under the control of the church whose members made the largest contributions. These relief societies sprang up in the villages in the period of depression following the first period of prosperity when the village factories began to close down. The village industries did not revive in the second period of prosperity because factories began to move from the villages to the cities. The interest in relief work was due not only to the need for it but also to the fact that the relief of the poor was a new diversion for people who had gone to an extreme in social pleasures. There was additional interest in a dance if it was a "charity ball." As might be expected, much of the relief was not very well thought out, especially when churches were vying with one another for a conspicuous part in relief work.

We have seen that the first period of prosperity stimulated the activity of the churches along customary lines. This activity took the form of revivals, of crusades against intemperance and of efforts to interest the public in the regular services by advertising the sermons. At the same time, the churches were installing new organs and other furnishings. Then came the increase of the musical part of the service and of the social life of the church; and then the increase of contributions to missions and to philanthropic enterprises. In all this new behavior the rivalrous disposition was pronounced. There was rivalry to increase the membership of the church. There was rivalry in having the pastor prominent in the life of the community; the more favorable attention he got the more highly his members valued him. There was rivalry in having a more attractive meeting house, a better organist, a better choir than other churches. Also, we find churches making great efforts to increase their contributions to missions in order to exceed those made by other churches. Also, there was rivalry in philanthropic activity. Along with this impulsive behavior there continued the traditional attitude to the church as an organization for the salvation of people from future punishment and for the religious sanctioning of morality. Finally there were those in every church who found in the church services some stimulus to a really spiritual life.

CHAPTER VIII

CORRELATION OF ECONOMIC CHANGES WITH CHANGES IN INTELLECTUAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY

THE intellectual attitudes of our rural heritage continued predominant among the farmers in the first period of expansion. In the chapter on Economic Development we distinguished three types, the conservative, the recklessly speculative and the shrewd. There always had been these three types in the population, but farmers of the second type increased in number in the period of expansion because of economic changes that stimulated speculation. The speculative farmers also were apt to be impulsive in their enjoyment of pleasure. This increased impulsiveness was inevitable for there was little to stimulate intelligence in adjustment to the new conditions. Farmers were slightly better informed than in the early days but this meant nothing. Daily newspapers were taken by farmers who lived near post-offices and weekly newspapers by those living in more remote regions. The extension of the rural mail delivery toward the close of the first period of expansion increased the reading of daily papers throughout the rural districts. Juvenile and women's magazines began to be taken. But the importance of all this can be overestimated. It signified a somewhat increased suggestibility to the ideas of newspapers and magazines, without any increase of critical intelligence. There was little reading except for relaxation. Only a small percentage of farmers took enough interest in the all important problem of fertilizing their land to read any literature on the subject except what they might run across in their farm paper. Most of them bought their fertilizer from a neighbor, or from the agent who happened to call first, or, more often, from the agent who sold the lowest priced fertilizer, without regard to its chemical composition or the needs of their soil. And they did this in spite of the admirable "Report of the Analysis of Commercial Fertilizers" published by the New York State Agricultural Experiment Station, which they could have had by writing for it. There was a slight but growing interest among farmers in experiment station work. As to books, these were as

little in evidence in the rural homes as in the preceding period. The country women had been little affected by the novel reading craze that had struck the villages. A magazine like the *Ladies' Home Journal* seemed to promise a greater variety of reading and a bigger bulk than a book and could be had for less money.

The farmers had various clubs for the discussion of agricultural topics. In our typical community such a club had been formed prior to 1875. It met weekly in the village during the winter months. As hop raising became the all important industry, interest shifted from production to speculative selling; wherefore, after 1880 the meetings of the club were devoted less to a discussion of methods of raising various crops and more to music and a social time, and, before 1887, the club had ceased to exist. In 1888 the farmers of the town joined with those of surrounding towns in a unit of the Farmers' Institute. This extended throughout the state and its purpose was to stimulate the study of scientific agriculture under the direction of state lecturers. The meetings of the unit to which our town belonged were held successively in the different towns represented in the unit. Prior to each meeting the most attractive farm in the vicinity was placed on exhibition and visiting farmers were shown around by their hosts. The exercises of the meeting consisted of music and the reading of papers. The discussion that followed the reading of the papers was less animated than that of the old farmer's club. Those present were not neighbors but strangers or acquaintances assembled from several towns and they felt more or less under restraint. After 1890 meetings ceased to be held. Many other towns had a similar experience and the movement for scientific agriculture did not become effective until the organization of the Farm Bureau.

Among the intellectual attitudes both of farmers and villagers was the tendency to argue. This resulted in the organization of debating societies. In our typical community a debating club was formed in the stirring period preceding the Civil War and the weekly meetings were devoted to debating the political and moral problems of that era.[1] The formal debate was followed by an informal discussion open to all. The questions at issue were "tackled" in such a serious manner that in 1859 the younger members of the club, realizing their inability to cope with the older and more experienced debaters, withdrew and formed a society of their own. After the war interest in debating began to wane and before 1879 the club ceased to exist.

In the first period of expansion the villagers were less interested

in argumentation than before, and were inclined to prefer lectures and reading for amusement. Some of the village papers began to conduct a regular weekly column on the articles of chief interest in the magazines of that week. Some of the churches seized on this new literary interest as a means of harmless amusement for their young people and organized societies for listening to "parlor talks" by "well-read" men and women on literary and scientific subjects. In our typical community the old debating society changed into a society called the *Lyceum* which conducted a lecture course, that is, a course of six entertainments consisting of three or four lectures by such men as George R. Wendling, Lew Wallace, John B. Gough, and of two or three concerts or impersonations. The *Lyceum* also held meetings in which certain members gave lectures on their travels in Europe; or one member read an original poem and another sang; or there was a mock trial; or a symposium on the advantages of the village as a place of residence. It was no longer necessary for the younger members to hold their meetings separately, for the exercises were now more social than intellectual. The *Lyceum* gradually differentiated into other clubs, some members going into the card and dancing clubs, others into the study clubs until, in 1887, the society ceased to exist. The public lecture course was continued first by one and then by another organization, but the lecture part of it became less important and consisted finally of but one lecture to four or five entertainments, until the course was abandoned. The reason for the decreasing interest in lectures was the increase in the various kinds of social pleasure at this time, and also the increase of popular books and magazines so that the pleasantries of a popular orator and the information of his lecture were less appreciated than before. Furthermore, the people were less likely to be spellbound by a speaker than in the days when they had lived isolated lives and few could lay claim to being "informed." People who have had the advantages of education, reading, and travel are not easily carried away by mere eloquence.

Village people also formed magazine clubs for the purpose of securing the use of a large number of magazines at a small expense. In the two clubs which existed in our typical community from the beginning of the period, the character of the magazines remained about the same.[2] In the clubs formed later there was a larger proportion of light periodicals, for the members were more inclined to read what they liked, instead of the magazines that social propriety required an "informed" person to read. Among the latter the *Literary Digest* was particularly

popular because "it enables you to keep up with the times with the least effort." This motive to keep up with the times, not to appear ill-informed was, next to the desire for amusement, the essential motive of magazine reading. There was also the motive to get recognition as a very well-informed man or woman, as contrasted with that of merely escaping the shame of appearing uninformed. So rivalry was pronounced in the desire to be well informed.

The women of the villages also formed clubs for study, mainly for the study of history. Our typical community had three such clubs, which included about seventy members. The method of study of all the clubs was similar. There was a committee to outline the work for the year and the outline was printed in the form of a program for each weekly meeting. The exercises of the meetings consisted of the reading of extracts from various books, with a social hour at the end for visiting and refreshments. The history of a particular nation was studied each year, first the ancient nations, then the European, then the United States. Various motives were active in the work of these study clubs. There was apparently a desire for a proper knowledge of the past, especially for such a knowledge as might be displayed in conversation about the present. Consequently a good deal of attention was given to the description of historic cities, scenery, persons. Little attention was paid to narrative; and no thought was given to the processes of history. If a dispute arose as to the correctness of the presentation of facts, it was settled by reference to the book with the exclamation, "These are his exact words." The members of the clubs were more interested in the social hour at the close than in the literary features of the meeting. As one member said, "Recess is no sooner announced than their apathetic look gives place to a most animated expression and soon they are all talking at once," but not about the topics just finished. The chief interest of the clubs was not in the regular meetings but in the annual "recreation meeting," the exercises of which consisted of music, cards or dramatics and a "spread." The rivalry of the clubs centered in these recreation meetings, the clubs of older women, particularly, vying with each other in various features that were elaborately reported in the village paper. These clubs were taken seriously not only by the members but also by the village paper. Instance the following from an editorial in the village paper: "As the frequency of whist parties among the ladies has been noticed from time to time, it may be well to bring to the attention of the readers of the *Times* that there are three flourishing literary societies composed

of about seventy ladies who meet every week for three hours of study. While the dates of these are often changed on account of some social function there is never an omission . . . thus it will be seen that the women have not gone daft upon social pleasures to the exclusion of subjects that materially improve them mentally."

There are several reasons for the increase of reading and study in the villages. These were new forms of recreation. Also, they satisfied social rivalry. To be well read was a new means of gaining social recognition. Also the convivial people took to reading to show they were not entirely convivial. And people who were opposed to the increasing conviviality approved of reading and study as forms of recreation that might take the place of the condemned pleasures. It was thought that people who played cards and danced and those who did not might possibly find the literary society a means of getting together in some form of pleasant social intercourse. Another cause of reading and study was that an increasing number of boys and girls were going away to school and college and those who remained at home wanted some of this college learning.

There was an increase during this period in the proportion of children of the rural districts who attended the village high schools. In our typical community this number increased in both the first and second periods of prosperity.[3] The rural schools were managed with a view chiefly to incurring the minimum expense in satisfying the legal requirements for such schools. With the coming of prosperity the district schools were not improved but children were sent to the village schools.

Another phase of educational activity during the period is the increase in the number of students attending school out of town; these students came mostly from the villages. The farmer was apt to pooh at higher education. "What does it amount to!" was his skeptical attitude to any teaching that did not have an obviously practical bearing. College education was not admitted to be of value except for boys going into the professions, though it might be approved as bringing youths into contact with ambitious young men and thus stimulating them to "be somebody." But the effect more often observed was that the college boy became "set up" and "above ordinary work." So the farmer was against it. In the villages, having children away at school and especially at college was a mark of social distinction, hence the readiness of parents who could afford this expensive distinction to send their children away. Then too, of course, there was a belief on the

part of many parents that "the best thing you can do for your children is to give them an education because no one can take that away from them." In our typical community the number away at school increased in the first period of prosperity.[4] It had then become a mark of social distinction to have children away at school. The first period of prosperity had little effect on the number of students at college because, in order to enter college, the student must have had four or five years preparation. But prosperity did encourage some parents to prepare their children for college and to save money for the purpose of eventually sending them. The number attending college showed a considerable increase in 1889 and reached its height in 1891.

The description of the intellectual life of the second period raises the problem of the psychology of this behavior. We note that the intellectual activity at first took the customary form of societies for the discussion of agricultural topics and for debating the questions of the day. Then came societies for putting on lectures, for magazine reading and for courses of study. As in social pleasure, so here, the activity is not interpreted by merely noting the customary or new behavior. It is necessary to analyze the psychological processes. Much of the reading was merely for amusement. People read newspapers for diversion, wherefore they are not critical as to what they read. They do not consider whether the news is true or not. It is not merely ignorance that makes them dupes of the newspapers; it is their inclination to read uncritically for diversion. This is true of city as well as of village and country people. At the same time, of course, there is some desire to learn about current events. People feel that they "ought to keep up with the times." So we find in newspaper reading the same two motives noted in magazine reading, to get amusement and to "keep up." This impulse to keep up, either from shame at appearing ill-informed or from the ambition to be recognized as "well-read," is a manifestation of the rivalrous disposition. In the study clubs the same processes were essential, with rivalry more pronounced. To be sure there were other motives. The clubs were formed in order to enable people to satisfy their curiosity as to this college education that they were hearing so much about. People tend to be curious about and eager for something that others are getting. Thus curiosity had a connection with rivalry, that is, there was an impulse not to let others get ahead of one in acquiring something thought to be worth while. Curiosity is evident also in the subjects selected for study—the ancient, mysterious part of history, the discovery of new

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countries and the origins of modern nations. But rivalry was the pronounced disposition. There was a feeling of rivalry with the college people. There was also rivalry to show what one could do in a study club. Also there was the impulse to connect oneself with a study club as a group of prestige in the community.

Rivalry played a prominent part, also, in public education. A few bright students would "grind" for high marks and prizes and in this were spurred on by their parents. One of the main topics of conversation among high school pupils was concerning which of the two or three leading contestants would win the prizes. When the chief contestants belonged to different religious sects, as Protestant and Catholic, the rivalry became bitter and sometimes the entire community "took sides." The school experience of the contestants, which ought to have been one of the most pleasant experiences of their lives, was embittered and sometimes their health was impaired by this rivalry. This prominence of rivalry in the school was not due, primarily, to the "instincts" of the children but to the attitudes of the school administration and of the parents. The village board of education charged the teachers to hold up the examination before the pupil; to use it to inspire fear in the dull pupil, to stimulate rivalry for high marks in the "smart" one. Parents took no interest in what the child was learning; their interest centered in seeing him or her excel. The system of state examinations for public school pupils was defended on the ground that the teacher would use partiality if she had the examination in her own hands. The interest was in getting an impartial standard of superiority. Learning consisted of remembering a mass of information long enough to write it on the examination paper. The efficiency of a school was popularly judged not according to its efficiency in training the mind and forming character but from the success of pupils in passing examinations. There was one other indication of efficiency which popularly was much emphasized and that was the performance of speakers in a prize-speaking contest. If the speakers made a creditable showing the community believed the school was doing splendid work. If they made a poor showing the people were apt to condemn the school administration as inefficient even though the school work was otherwise good.

Education in out-of-town schools and colleges also showed a predominance of the rivalrous disposition. To be sure it served other impulses, including the impulse to acquire knowledge, to make children staunch defenders of the faith, and to prepare them for a pro-

fessional career. Sectarianism played a prominent part in determining what school or college the boy or girl should attend. But that did not preclude the operation of the rivalrous disposition. The tendency was to select a college of prestige. The current was first toward the smaller colleges, later toward the larger. The famous university was thought to be "so much harder" than the small college that an exploit by a boy in the former gave parents a greater thrill, when they had the news printed in the village paper. The news was mighty. Nobody could question their supremacy in the matter of children. Under these rivalrous impulses sending children away to school and college became a fad in some communities, which called forth sarcastic comment from the "old-fashioned folks": "People are coming to think that a boy or girl can't learn anything any longer in the town schools." Because of the prominence of rivalry in sending children away to school, no particular inquiry was made as to the efficiency of the teaching,—as to whether the subjects taught or the method of teaching gave any desirable mental training. The famous schools and colleges were places of prestige, and of course education in such places *must* be superior to any other and without question worth the sacrifice involved.

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC CHANGES AND CHANGES IN JURISTIC ATTITUDES

THE juristic attitudes of the first period of expansion differed from those of the early days in at least two particulars: the sentiment of respect for law was weaker, as was also abhorrence of violators of law; and there was an increasing comprehension of a functioning of law little thought of in the early days, that is, of law as used to serve the interests of a class. First, let us consider the weakening respect for law and abhorrence of the lawbreaker. The adherence to custom of the early days was supplemented by a pronounced respect for law. One evidence of this was the dislike of abolitionists, even on the part of people opposed to slavery. The "d——d abolitionist" was a lawbreaker or was in sympathy with lawbreakers. It was all right to be in sympathy with the slaves but people should not let themselves be carried away by their impulses to the extent of countenancing behavior that was contrary to law. Sympathetic impulses always have been restrained without much difficulty before the attitude of respect for law but impulses for gain and for satisfaction of appetite have been less effectively controlled. Impulses for gain became unruly in the first period of expansion, owing to certain new conditions. Among these were the extension of markets for agricultural produce and the passage of laws regulating agricultural conditions for the public welfare. The farmer could not understand the necessity of some of these laws. Where he could understand, for instance, in case of laws forbidding watering milk or selling "bob-veal," he felt less responsible for the quality of his products when sold in distant markets than when sold in the local market to be consumed by people he knew.

The first period of expansion was a time of increasing impulses to self indulgence, particularly in the villages, but also among the farmers. This caused a growing impatience with attitudes and beliefs of the past that centered around self-restraint. The attitude of self-restraint was essential in respect for law, and the weakening of it weakened respect for law. This chain of sequences is true also of the rural populations of European countries.[1] Among the strong

impulses suppressed by the traditional self-restraint were those involved in social intercourse between the sexes. In the early days male jealousy was strong and this necessitated extreme care on the part of the wife in her social relations. In the training of her daughters the mother emphasized the necessity of modesty. Any deviation therefrom was regarded by men as an invitation to irresponsible flirting, so that a girl who did not want her affections trifled with was careful to maintain an extremely modest demeanor. The association of boys and girls did not tend to be comradely; it was too closely related to sex. The freer relations between the sexes in the cities ultimately affected the country and one of the inevitable results was some increase in immorality. Immorality came to be somewhat less abhorred than in the early days. One reason for this was that male jealousy was less pronounced. Another was the decreased influence of religion so that it was less abhorred as a sin. Still another was that the most talked of immorality sometimes was in the "high society" of the villages but still the immoral persons continued to move in society. These examples were cited by young men as proving that "immoral persons are not as bad as some people say."

This change of attitude toward immorality affected the attitude to law. Where immorality resulted in violations of law, there was a tendency to condone such violations. Seduction and refusal of the man to "do the right thing" did not arouse the resentment that it had once occasioned. In cases of bigamy there was more inclination than formerly to excuse the offender on the ground that "a man cannot live with a wife he does not love"; wherefore he cannot be blamed for wanting another wife. The weakening adherence to customs of sexual morality resulted in a tendency to excuse violators of the laws that enforced those customs.

In some cases a change of sentiment led to new laws, as in the case of honesty. In the early days when a group of farmers coöperated in butter-making, one farmer collecting the milk and making the butter one week and another the next, each clearly understood that it was to his advantage not to water his milk. But later when the farmer sold his milk to the milk company for consumption in New York City it was not clear that a farmer might not gain by watering his milk if he could do so without detection. There was some watering of milk among the farmers of the state, and it was forbidden by law. Again, in the early days a farmer would not sell his neighbors "bob-veal," but later farmers sold bob-veal for the consumption of people in cities

and this also was forbidden by law. In the early days fear of detection by neighbors would have deterred if there had been any temptation to the behavior; in the period of rural expansion there was no fear of detection, so far as consumers were concerned, for they were far away, so it was necessary to add the other deterrent, fear of the penalty of the law. With the development of production for distant markets the tendency among farmers was to feel less restraint from impulses for social approval or to avoid disapproval. Farmers came to think of one another as "looking out for himself first and last and all the time." Hence the public welfare required that the law regulate behavior in various respects. Farmers often thought of such laws as arbitrary and whimsical and hence believed that they were justified in violating them when they could do so without detection. The shame lay in "getting ketched." [2]

There are other instances of a change of sentiments which led to new laws or new interpretations of old laws. For instance, honor—"your word as good as your note"—was prevalent throughout the neighborhood in the early days. When a man promised to pay a debt, he did his best to keep his promise. In the first period of expansion honor was not so pronounced throughout the community. A man's standing was determined more by the amount of money people thought he had, and less by his honor than heretofore. Consequently husband and wife sometimes sacrificed honor for the sake of keeping up appearances. A man escaped paying his debts by putting his property in his wife's name, or by going into voluntary bankruptcy, or by taking refuge behind the law declaring debts outlawed after a certain period. This dishonorable behavior was not condemned as severely as it would have been in the early days. There was a tendency to condone it.

The changes in attitudes above cited did not affect a considerable proportion of the population. Many farmers maintained the old-time attitudes of rigorous sexual morality, honesty and honor. We have, then, two opposing attitudes to law, the old-time respect for law and abhorrence of the lawbreaker, and a growing indifference to law and palliation of the lawbreaker. People sometimes professed the old attitude of respect and at the same time were impatient under the restraint of particular laws and customs. For instance, in our typical community a case of bigamy aroused the populace to such excitement that over two hundred persons were at the railroad station to meet the train on which the bigamist was brought in for the preliminary hearing, but some of those loudest in their condemnation of this particu-

lar lawbreaker were persons who secretly indulged in immoral conduct and were impatient of the adverse sentiment of the community. Another example is that of certain people who were loud in their denunciations of men who went into voluntary bankruptcy and at the same time did not pay debts contracted at the village stores.

Those people who ascribe the growing disrespect for law to the prohibition of the liquor traffic and the failure to enforce that law will do well to consider that there was a growing disrespect for law many years before prohibition and that it was evident in those very parts of the state where law is on the whole most respected, including the prohibitory law. The increasing disrespect for law was due essentially to the lack of adjustment to the new social conditions that developed in the latter part of the nineteenth century in the rural districts as well as in the cities. The maladjustment became more acute in the first quarter of the twentieth century because conditions continued to change and the people continued to be as lacking in intelligence and capacity for adjustment as before. Hence the growing disrespect for law became more evident. This changed attitude to law is, then, not something for which the individual is to be merely condemned, as he is by those who maintain the rigorous law-abiding attitude of the early days; it is rather something the causes of which should be investigated. Among the causes were the inevitable changes in economic conditions and the lack of adequate comprehension of the significance of those changes. The farmer who thought that the new laws regulating the production of milk and meat were merely restraints to be evaded where possible, thought so because he lacked an adequate comprehension of the social situation. Since he failed to understand the necessity of such laws he was irritated by them. The inevitable result was a weakening respect for law as such. Even where the necessity of the law was appreciated there was the tendency to think primarily of one's own interest. This light regard for law, and intentness on one's own interest has been accentuated by certain trends in modern business and it became evident among farmers as their vocation took on an aspect of business. But the light regard for laws regulating agriculture and business is not by any means to be ascribed entirely to selfishness. For these laws often are made by ignorant politicians, who know less about agriculture and business than do those engaged in it; consequently such laws often interfere with the efficient carrying on of agriculture and business. This inefficiency of the law inevitably impairs respect for law.

Toward the close of the first period of expansion began the standardization of agricultural products and the use of tests for grading products according to the accepted standards. This eliminated many possible forms of dishonesty. One of the main purposes of farmers' coöperative societies has been to coöperate with the government in working out scientific standards and in making and enforcing necessary regulations of farm activities. Farmers have more respect for regulations when these are sponsored by their own organizations than when they are merely forced on them by law-makers. Through the influence of their organizations farmers are becoming more reasonable in their attitude to state regulation. Thus the demoralization of the first period of expansion was a transition stage between the old neighborhood economy and the new coöperative economy. In agricultural industries not yet organized and standardized, for instance, the production of eggs, there is a great deal of dishonest selling of an inferior product. It is because of the lack of definite grades and tests. Organization facilitates working these out and educates the farmers as to their necessity. Coöperation in the second period of expansion began to foster a new attitude to law. Through the influence of the great coöperative organizations farmers began to realize that laws were not arbitrary commands but regulations required for the public welfare.

We turn to the second change in the juristic attitudes of farmers in the first period of expansion. They began to realize that law may be the means whereby a dominant class has its will against other classes. In slavery days the dominant class was the slave owning class and it passed laws to protect its interests. In the first period of expansion the economic interests that were most conspicuously dominant over the government were the railroads but this class control of government was less evident in New York than in western states. The latter were more hampered by lack of transportation facilities than New York; consequently they were more vitally interested in political action on behalf of better transportation and, in this conflict, witnessed the influence of the railroads over the state and federal governments.[3] In New York the conception of a dominant class that would use the law in its own interest did not gather force until President Roosevelt's prosecution of the trusts. The failure of the government to break up the trusts was a lesson the farmers did not entirely forget, but the feeling passed with the passing of Roosevelt. The intelligent farmer reluctantly admitted that "big business" had more

influence over the government than it ought to have, but he did not like to talk about it; and the mass of farmers became indifferent. As a party man the farmer would not blame his own party for the influence of a dominant class over the government. He distrusted politicians, even those of his own party; but he could not see that things would be any better with the other party in power. Behind the political parties the farmer was beginning to see the real political scene, that is, the struggle of economic interests for influence over the government and for laws and decisions favorable to their purposes. This conception was only just beginning to take hold of the farmer but it was a commonplace to the rural leaders who were coming into prominence in the first decade of the new century; it is only a question of time when the rank and file of farmers will come to a full realization of it.

In the first period of expansion the farmers were as set in favor of private property and freedom of private enterprise as were the farmers of early days. They did not share the socialistic tendencies of the cities. In a way they would admit that there was one law for the rich and another for the poor. To a certain extent this was another reason, in addition to those already given, for the decreasing respect for law. But this admission of lack of equality before the law had none of the bitterness for the farmer that it had for the working masses. For the farmer thought of himself as immeasurably above the poor of the cities. Judge Ben. B. Lindsey states the case for the poor as follows: "A judge is supposed to dispense justice, but that is impossible in America today. There is one law for the rich and another for the poor. Every judge knows that and it seems to me time that one of them acknowledged the truth. When one of these nonsupport cases, for instance, comes up before me, have you any idea that I can settle it justly? . . . There is that man with the seven little children. The crime he was charged with was failing to feed those children. His actual crime was the crime of being a laborer. At best he earns $14 a week, hardly enough to feed himself. . . . But I go through the farce of ordering him to pay out money which I know he can't get hold of. . . . The law compels me to pick on him, but the law does not provide him with any ability to meet his obligations."[4] The farmer did not think of himself as in this class. He had an attitude of mingled compassion and contempt for the poor farm laborer's family. He would help a poor family or see that the poor-master did so but he knew nothing of the vast poverty in cities in a period of unemploy-

ment. The disagreeable questions it raised did not penetrate into the rural districts. Being a small property owner kept the farmer from sharing the attitude of the non-propertied to the propertied. He was strong for private property and free enterprise and insisted that the government regulate big business in a way that would prevent its encroaching on the rights and profiting at the expense of the farmer.

CHAPTER X

ECONOMIC CHANGES AND CHANGES IN POLITICAL ATTITUDES

THE political activity of the community, as in the early days, involved, first, those who were specially interested in politics and second, the rank and file of voters who were not. The interest of the latter was stirred, around election time, by reading the newspapers and magazines; and, inasmuch as they knew nothing about political issues except what they read, their reaction to these impressions was modified by casual talk with acquaintances and by their own partisan attitudes. The reactions of most voters were determined by their partisan attitude, justified and reinforced by what they read. Ignorance permitted the traditional attitudes to persist and to determine the course of thought. So voters were well nigh as partisan as in the early days. Neighbors differed vehemently without reflecting why; each thought he had the truth when each was reacting merely to a partisan attitude, usually acquired unconsciously from parents. The increase of newspapers and magazines made people think they were "better informed" than in the early days when really they were merely better served with justifications of their own attitudes.

Those specially interested in town and village politics included the saloon-keepers; men who were constantly among the farmers, as doctors and dealers in produce, who were in a position to know how the farmer felt on political matters and who exerted a good deal of political influence; some business men who were not very successful in business or who had failed and taken up politics; men who wanted a minor political office to carry along with their regular business; some successful farmers and business men whom the office had to seek when an efficient assessor or supervisor or village president was wanted; the mass of office-holders and those who aspired to hold some petty office. Those interested in political preferment beyond the town included lawyers and others who had won influence as public speakers, good mixers and clever politicians; business men who sought political influence for business reasons or for social prestige; men at leisure who lived on their own income or their wife's and aspired to political office; men who made politics their business.

Men interested in politics often had a social influence that was out of all proportion to their weight as men of ability. For candidates for office were more or less before the people and were talked about in the homes. Lawyers have tended to be more in the public eye and to have more influence than other professional men because lawyers take a more prominent part in politics. To be sure the attention a public man gets is not necessarily favorable attention. Children heard the political activities of saloon-keepers contemptuously referred to; they heard the exclusive aristocrat running for office ridiculed when, about election time, he began shaking hands with everybody on the village street. Because so many politicians were despised or ridiculed, youths acquired the feeling that it was more or less lowering to go into politics. They learned that even the independent and high-minded candidate for office had to leave some money in all saloons, appear cordial to people he had never before noticed, and associate on intimate terms with contemptible men. Nevertheless there was a popular adulation of office-holders—the state senator, the judge—which gave the politicians who held these offices an influence out of all proportion to their worth as men of ability and exemplary citizens.

The political behavior of the mass of voters was of two distinct kinds. First, where they were interested in the efficient conduct of an office and had some understanding of what the official should do, as in certain local offices, they were likely to be intelligently critical of his behavior. Second, where they were not interested and did not understand, as in the case of most offices, they supported candidates from personal or party allegiance. The difference between these two kinds of political behavior was seen in the difference between the behavior of voters in connection with certain village offices on the one hand and in town, state, and national politics on the other. In village administration the citizen could clearly see how his money was expended and could criticise every move made by officials. The officials had their haunts and homes in the neighborhood and were often met and amenable to personal disapproval or praise. In filling village offices that required expert knowledge the tendency was to pick a man of the requisite experience and ability. Offices that did not require expert knowledge, however, tended to be given to the good fellow or the candidate who "needed it most." Unreasoning pity was a strong force in enabling the inefficient man to get into politics and in ameliorating the punishment of the corrupt politician.

The demand for efficiency was somewhat less insistent in town than

in village administration.[1] The office of representative on the county board of supervisors was the most important in the gift of the town and supervisors often were utterly inefficient and occasionally were corrupt politicians. Inefficient men often had the comradely qualities that caused voters to ignore their inefficiency. Popularity was a strong factor in the choice of town officers, for the candidates could canvass the entire town and talk personally with all the rural voters and with many of those of the village. So personal popularity counted much not only when the office did not require any unusual ability but also when it did.

Personal allegiance played a part also in the voting for state officials, especially when the candidate resided in the town. In our typical community in 1885–95 the Republican candidate for state senator was a resident of the community, and the interest of the campaigns during this ten year period, even in a presidential year, centered about the chances of the community's candidate. The celebration of his election, particularly that of 1895, far exceeded any other in enthusiasm. In this year the Republican organization had prevented the renomination of this senator, whereupon he announced himself an independent candidate and was elected over the regular Republican and Democratic nominees. This was the occasion of two demonstrations thus described in the community paper: "There were two enthusiastic . . . demonstrations here this week, one on Monday night when the opera house was crowded to the doors to hear the senator speak, and the other on Wednesday night to celebrate his victory. On Wednesday evening the victory was celebrated by his adherents in Blankville and surrounding towns, a special train of five cars coming here from ——. Bands and uniformed organizations marched to the home of the successful candidate, and, after much speech-making, accompanied him to the banquet hall amid a blaze of fireworks and cries of 'Hurrah for the next governor of New York'!" Nothing seems to please the citizens of a community more than to be able to say that certain rich men or political leaders or other celebrities live in their community.

In state and national politics partisanship was the deciding attitude in voting. The variations in the division of the total vote between the two great parties, in various communities, seems to have followed the general trend in the state and not to have been affected by merely local prosperity or other local conditions. The Democratic and Republican percentages of the total vote seem to have been more

uniform from year to year during the period in the farming sections than in the villages, showing less susceptibility on the part of the farmers to outside political influences. However, the rural as well as the village vote showed a response to the political temper of the nation at certain times, for instance, at the time of the Democratic majority of 1892 and the Republican majority of 1896.

Partisanship was strong up to the latter part of the first period, judging from the large space given in the village papers to politics and from the intensely partisan spirit of some papers. The majority of village papers were avowedly either Republican or Democratic, most of them Republican. They indulged in "slams" at the opposite party, and gloried in exposures of grafters in its ranks, though they tried to keep up an appearance of impartial fairness, for their subscribers included members of both parties. Of course the spirit of the editorials and news editing was the spirit of the editor, not of the community, and there is reason to believe that the community lost its keen partisanship before the editor did. He was likely to be more or less of a politician. But his propaganda was not effective if he went too far in his partisanship, so the decreasing intensity of partisanship of the community showed itself in a similar change in village papers in the latter part of the first period.

The predominance of party allegiance in voting is not to be wondered at when we consider that in state and national politics the voters knew little or nothing about the issues they were called upon to decide at the polls. In the face of an uncertain situation the tendency is to react according to habit, unless some strong contrary emotion is stirred. Consequently political demonstrations took the form of emotional outbursts intended to impress the public with the enthusiasm and confidence of the demonstrating party. A campaign consisted of political meetings addressed by partisan candidates and preceded by a torch-light procession. Each party was more interested in outdoing the other in noise and display than in a discussion of the issues of the campaign. Aside from the partisan speeches of imported or "home talent" on the night of the demonstration, there was little public discussion of issues, either from the platform or in newspapers or from the pulpit. The editorials of partisan papers were little more than ejaculations against the opposing party or in favor of their own. The clergy maintained political discussions to be "secular" and "outside the sphere of the church." Occasionally a minister attacked a

notorious politician, but he only enraged the members of the church who belonged to that party. Partisanship, like sectarianism, sanctified the men who symbolized the attitude.

Political behavior was, therefore, much the same during the first period of expansion as in the early days. The farmers of New York were not drawn into political farmers' movements as were the farmers of the West.[2] However, toward the end of the period two changes began to be evident and these became marked in the second period. First, the farmer was no longer as sure in his partisanship as before. He began to feel that the old political beliefs no longer applied. As one old resident, a lifelong Democrat, said, during the campaign of 1896: "I don't take any more interest in politics. It's too deep for me now." Second, at the same time that the farmer began to be less sure in his partisanship, he began to realize that politics had more to do with his economic prosperity than before. The early farmer felt that, after all, it made little difference, so far as his economic interests were concerned, which party elected its candidates, for he had his farm and produced most of what he consumed. This feeling of independence was weakening in the first period of expansion. Then, in the second period, during President Roosevelt's campaign against the trusts, the farmer was getting used to the idea that the trusts fix prices at a high point and millionaires are made at the expense of consumers, among them the farmers. Also, he was hearing about middlemen making money, sometimes fortunes, by gambling in agricultural products. So farmers began to realize that the government might curb trusts and the speculators with benefit to the farmers. Thus interest in national politics began to change from a merely partisan and sporting interest to an economic interest. But this change has only begun.

This new attitude has changed, somewhat, the farmer's reaction to political speakers and to the political news in the papers. In the days of sporting partisanship an extremely partisan speaker won his audience. Later, when voters were less sure about political issues, they sought in a speaker not merely dogmatic assertion and argument but some evidence that he was honestly trying to enlighten his hearers. The failure of speakers to do this irritated the more thoughtful voters. Voters read in the same paper both candidates' interpretations of a political situation, read contrary claims, contrary allegations of fact and each candidate's personal abuse of the other. "Both cannot be right," was the conclusion; and the per-

sonal abuse suggested that neither was right, that neither had any genuine desire to enlighten the voters but was mainly intent on discrediting his rival. This distrust of politicians, including those of his own party, has weakened the partisan attitude of the farmer.

CHAPTER XI

THE WEAKENING ADHERENCE TO CUSTOM

THE preceding chapters have made it evident that, while the beliefs of the rural heritage still prevailed in the first period of expansion, changes were taking place. The culture surviving from the early days did not accurately represent the attitudes of the people. Many people felt it a duty to profess the traditional beliefs as to self-restraint when they were indulging impulses contrary to it. Many assented to the traditional condemnation of speculation when, as a matter of fact, they had become speculators. The mind was affected with a feeling of misgiving because of the conflict between the traditional beliefs and the new, contrary behavior.

The early rural neighborhood was characterized by a pronounced adherence to custom. This was due to the isolation of the neighborhood, to the stability of relations within the neighborhood, to the absorbing contact with physical nature, to the necessity of constant and excessive exertion and of the restraint of impulses that interfered therewith, to the loyalty of children to parents and the control of education by parents, to the homogeneity of the population in knowledge and experience, to the strength of the religious sanction of custom, and to the wide range of satisfactions enjoyed under the customary life. In the first period of expansion some of these conditions had changed in a marked degree. The rural community was no longer isolated. It was more closely associated with the village than before and, by railroad and the rural mail delivery, with the outside world. The telephone enabled the members of the community to be in constant touch with one another. In the second period the automobile widened the area and increased the intimacy of communication. This passing of isolation is true of rural communities all over the world and everywhere it has had the same effect. The farmer is less inclined to hold himself to a monotonous grind and more open to new impressions and ideas. It was this taste for new experiences that caused the increase of social pleasure and travelling. Particularly did the desire for new experiences and education assert itself in the young,

often without any encouragement from parents and even against discouragement. The passing of isolation not only roused the desire for new experiences but also weakened the opposition of the community to changes in the behavior of its members.

Another cause of the decreasing adherence to custom was that farm work required somewhat less constant and extreme exertion than formerly. The increased use of machinery and specialized farming gave more free time at certain seasons so that the farmer and his wife could go for a visit or attend a convention. These breaks in the routine of life increased the taste for new experiences.

The accumulation of property weakened the attitude of self-restraint. The farmer's family increased its range of consumption and this caused some radical departures from custom. The farmer was no longer contented with "a living." He wanted more of the conveniences and of the opportunities for recreation seen in the homes of the village people. He was not very critical in these new wants. He wanted things because other people had them. Departures from custom came first not in improved methods of production but in consumption. This again is true of rural communities in other parts of the world. In New York farmers who still followed the old methods of production and were indifferent to the bulletins of agricultural experiment stations just naturally followed the suggestions of their wives about refurnishing the house in the style of the village, giving more care to the grounds, buying a new carriage, or taking an extended trip. Especially in periods of prosperity did these changes in consumption take place. To be sure, prosperity did to some degree interest the farmer in methods of increasing the production of the profitable crops, but interest in scientific farming was slight in the first period. The main interest was in new pleasures. In some cases these involved radical departures from custom. Furthermore, the spending of money for pleasure instead of "saving every cent" was a departure from the custom of thrift which was one of the most cherished virtues of the early rural population.

In his business relations the farmer was brought into contact with the outside world. His relations ceased to be largely with physical nature. This great change had several important effects. He was less affected by the inexorable processes of nature and by the attitude of resignation thereto, which had conduced to adherence to custom. Furthermore, the transmuted attitudes to physical nature which had determined his business relations with neighbors, for instance, his

persistent reiteration of his own idea in his bargaining with neighbors and his shrewd getting around the equally set idea of his neighbor, did not work in contests with the buyer of produce. The farmer came to realize that some change was necessary in his marketing relations. Then too, as we saw in the chapter on juristic attitudes, the sentiments of honesty and honor began to weaken before the widening business relations and the farmer needed the strengthening effect of coöperation if rural morality was to be maintained.

Another cause of weakening adherence to custom was that the stability of relations within the neighborhood was much shaken. Consequently farmers cared less about the approval of their neighbors than formerly. There was an increase in the number of tenant farmers, and a farm owner is not likely to care particularly what the tenants of the neighborhood think about him. There was an increase of "foreigners," and a man cares little what a foreigner thinks about him. Furthermore, tenants changed often and the ownership of farms changed more than formerly. Consequently the old established relations which strengthened the desire for approval of neighbors were much shaken. Also the farmer was more independent of his neighbors than formerly. There was less borrowing and lending and less mutual aid.

One of the results of the migration of the young cityward was a diminishing adherence to custom. For those who went to the cities influenced those who remained at home. This weakened the authority of parents. Parental influence was further affected by the education of children. They acquired ideas different from those of their parents, which disposed them to assume an independent attitude. Though parents resented this, their attitudes and beliefs often changed more or less under the influence of their children.

The authority of the clergy and the hold of religious beliefs weakened; thus the religious sanction of customs was less effective than formerly. This sanction operated by an appeal to fear. The self-indulgent were threatened with eternal punishment. In the period of expansion the belief in a physical hell was passing and hell was said to be "a state of mind." Church people generally maintained that "there must be a hell of some kind for, if not, what incentive is there for most people?" That is, people would believe what they pleased and do as they pleased and there would be a riot of pleasure seeking unless they were restrained by fear, though the people who asserted this for others never included themselves. The "state of mind" doc-

trine apparently was not as restraining as the physical torment belief for impulsive pleasure seeking increased. But the cause of indulgence was the passing of isolation and of the hardships of the early period. Young people started life on an easier plane than their fathers, and the conspicuous examples before them were not of mighty workers but of successful money makers.

The contact with the villages and cities shook the old scheme of rural behavior. In many parts of New York the farmer boys were more or less demoralized. This is characteristic also of rural expansion in Europe.[1] It was a demoralization in work as well as in pleasure. The ease with which the dealer in farm produce and the village merchants made money impressed the farmer boys. They came to feel that farming was "hayseed business" and, in their uncertainty as to whether to remain on the farm or leave, they worked half-heartedly. At the same time the migration to the cities drew away from the rural parts impulsive youths of every type and left behind the more conservative type. The self-indulgent sought the villages and cities because the rural districts offered comparatively little opportunity for self-indulgence. The centers of population also appealed to the rivalrous disposition for there were the opportunities to satisfy ambition. The extremely sympathetic and intellectual also sought the cities because there were the opportunities to satisfy those impulses. In the country remained those whose impulses were less pronounced in any particular direction.

The slowness of rural change is due, therefore, both to the nature of the people who remain in the rural districts and to their environment. It is due to the emigration of the young, leaving the older, those of a more conservative age, in the country. It is due also to the emigration of the most progressive youths and girls. In addition to this conservative nature of the population, there are the environmental conditions mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. These conditions gave the early rural organization an attitude against change, which affected the minds of the young, and this attitude, though less pronounced, persists. This social attitude corresponds to the tendency of the individual, once habits are formed, to do as one always has done. This individual tendency is accentuated when the group has an attitude against change. The inclination of the members is to do as they always have done, to expect that what has been will be, to assume what has been as premises of argument as to what ought to be. People did not oppose changes in custom as a result of reason-

ing but they reasoned against the changes they opposed. When changes did come these were not a result of reasoning though people reasoned for the changes they accepted. Changes came as a result of a growing indifference to beliefs of the past, under the influence of new impulses and social suggestions. It is difficult to tell when a pronounced inclination to adhere to custom has been succeeded by an inclination for new experiences. But we find in one period the former inclination pronounced while in another the latter has become quite evident.

CHAPTER XII

CONDITIONS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

RURAL development depends on conditions of the physical environment, on the culture handed down from the past, the recent experience of the group, its relation to other groups, the essential tendencies of social relationship of the group, and on individual differences. Let us illustrate the effect of these conditions. First, there is their effect on economic changes. In our typical town the physical environment was an important condition of the introduction of hop culture, for successful hop growing required a certain kind of soil and climate. The culture handed down from the past also affected its introduction because the theological teaching, at the time when hops were being introduced into the state, was that hop raising was sinful. For this reason the culture of hops was slow in getting started. The recent experience of the community also affected the introduction of hops for communities which had recently had crop failures were more inclined to introduce the new crop than those which had not. About the time of the introduction of hops the potato crop had repeatedly failed in certain sections of the state and these sections were in a mood to try the new crop. The importance of the relation of the community to others is seen in the fact that hop culture was introduced by English immigrants. Its spread depended on the essential tendencies of social relationship of the community, and on individual differences. As to essential tendencies, in our typical community acquisitiveness was an essential tendency and this inclined the people to hop culture. Acquisitiveness was less pronounced in the town to the south. There the population was more "unstable," less industrious, more likely to leave the day's work to go hunting or fishing or to attend a religious service. This town was slower to adopt hop culture than the town to the north because less alive to its acquisitive interests. And those who became hop farmers were less industrious and successful. As to individual differences, although most of the farmers in our typical community eventually did adopt hop culture, two farmers did not because they regarded it as unchristian.

They had the necessary capital, the necessary capacity, and had farms admirably situated for hop culture but declared their religion meant more to them than money. They were men of very strong character and were unusually successful farmers but never raised a hop.

The effect of these various conditions of rural development may be seen also in changes in social pleasure. The effect of physical conditions is seen in the fact that communities that were situated in valleys were more likely to have villages of some size and, therefore, to be connected with cities by railroad than were communities in the hills. The effect of association with other groups is evident from the fact that communities near cities and connected therewith by railroad imitated the social activities of cities more than did those that were more remote. The recent experience of the group also played a part. Because of the extreme self-restraint of the people in the recent past, many went to an extreme in new pleasures because of their novelty; later pleasures became less extreme. The effect of the culture of the past also was in evidence. Calvinistic theology long put a damper on "unprofitable" pleasures. The essential tendencies of the community also were operative. Imitation of city pleasures depended on the essential tendencies of the community. A community that was extremely acquisitive and thrifty was less imitative than one which was more impulsive in rivalry and display. Imitation depended also on individual differences. Certain families were more imitative than others, and certain families had great influence. Sometimes one family in a church sufficed to turn the tide for or against the new pleasures.

We should consider especially the effect of individual differences on the agriculture and social life of the time. These differences were given free play by the individualism of the farmer. For instance, the farmers of a community had a variety of practices even in raising the same crop. In the hop industry some farmers ran their hop vines on wires, others on poles. In the fruit industry one farmer would follow one form in pruning his trees, another, another form in pruning the same variety of trees, though there was a best form and it was important to know the best, and though both farmers were less than a mile from the state agricultural experiment station which gave the last word as to best methods of pruning. The individualism is seen also in the great variety of agricultural enterprises that have been tried. As Professor Warren says, "New York farmers have tried practically everything. The types of farming that have survived are the ones that have stood the test." [1] Many of the ventures showed poor

judgment. The rank and file of farmers were averse to risking money in a new venture because of their inclination to hold on to their savings or their dislike of borrowing. Many of those who did try new ventures went to the other extreme and were inclined to be reckless. As an instance of this recklessness, in the improvement of seed potatoes the demand for seedlings of heralded new varieties amounted almost to a mania. In the mania of 1867 to 1869 as high as $50 is said to have been paid for a single potato of a widely heralded new variety. Potatoes of new varieties sold as high as $80 a bushel.[2] Similar manias have prevailed in various communities in the sale of horses, cattle, and poultry with a pedigree. With the same lack of sound judgment many farmers adopted new agricultural industries or extended old ones. The mass of farmers are not very learned in their calling. For this reason the example of one who has been conspicuously successful in a certain line is sufficient to move others to imitate him, without much thought as to whether or not their conditions are adapted to the venture. So the progress of agriculture has not taken place without many losses and failures. While the reckless failed in various ventures, the more cautious farmers, in spite of their conservatism, gradually improved their crops and herds, their methods and equipment.

New enterprises, new methods of cultivation, new varieties of plants and animals originate, in the last analysis, in individual minds. Old hop growers would tell you who first tried this new method and who first tried that. Individual initiative has played a prominent part, also, in the advancement of the dairy industry. For instance, "The center for pure breeding of the Holstein is in Madison County (New York). Around this is grouped a half dozen counties of similar prominence in the industry. Solomon Hoxie, a pioneer importer of Holstein, who established the first advance registry record in any breed in 1894, resided at Peterboro in Madison County. This region, with Syracuse as the chief market center, has become widely known among breeders as a source of Holstein stock and many notable auctions of this breed have been held there." "Holsteins hold most of the world's records for the total amount both of milk and of butter produced in a year, and a large proportion of these records have been made in New York State." [3] Not only new methods of farming but also new farmers' organizations resulted from the efforts of individuals.

The individual is, in turn, stimulated by social need. This is seen

in the development of the great agricultural industries of New York. Take, for instance, potato culture. The epidemic of potato blight, which swept over this country and Europe during the years 1843 to 1847, gave a great impetus to improvements in potato culture. The high price of potatoes due to the blight was a pecuniary incentive. Improvements were begun by the Rev. Chauncey Goodrich of Utica, N. Y., who conceived that varieties of potatoes of North America and Europe had become weakened in their resistance to disease and needed to be rejuvenated by means of crossing with new varieties. To this end he obtained some South American potatoes for breeding purposes. Of these experiments he writes: "From the beginning of 1849 to the close of 1854 I originated about 5,400 varieties . . . I have but 33 sorts left, many of which I shall doubtless reject in a year or two. The 3,000 new sorts, which originated in 1855 and 1856, promise better but even among them the proportion of truly valuable ones will in the end doubtless be small." His standard of judgment of a valuable variety included: (1) good shape; (2) white flesh; (3) hardiness; (4) freedom of growth; (5) resistance of dry weather; (6) fine flavor; (7) early maturity. The importance of his work lies: (1) in the improved varieties which he himself produced but especially in the varieties later produced by others from one of his, a product of South and North American crossing; (2) in the tremendous impetus his work and numerous writings gave those who followed him. In a tribute to him Henry Ward Beecher said: "There are few instances on record of zeal so interested, chiefly in two respects: First, in that he would not permit himself to be imposed upon in the judgment which he placed upon the merits of his seedlings; and, secondly, in that he worked out his benevolent labors to the end of his life, without turning his industry to his own profit. He was so busy with his experiments that he had no time to make money." Of those who followed him the most important in this country were farmers of Vermont and New York, also an editor of the Rural New-Yorker. Comparatively little progress has been made since 1890, chiefly because so much had been done before that there was less chance for improvement, also because the extremely low prices of potatoes have given little incentive to effort.[4]

Returning to the environmental conditions of development mentioned in previous paragraphs we note that similar physical and market conditions extended over wide areas, which were suited thereby to certain industries.[5] The industries in turn selected farmers of

certain capacities and developed certain attitudes. This psychological effect of the particular industry may, of course, be over-emphasized, but there are pronounced shades of difference in character resulting from the different reactions regularly stimulated by different agricultural industries. Hop farming encouraged speculation in selling hops, freedom and impulsiveness in enjoyment of pleasures, a speculative and somewhat reckless attitude to the future and, therefore, an indifference to religious doctrines that assured the individual of his future. Again, of dairy farming it is said: "The confinement of regular hours and continuous daily care involved in dairying has without doubt hampered the attention given to all forms of community activities and doubtless could be traced in its effects on the school, the church. . . ." [6] The same author points out that fruit growers are not so confined and are, therefore, more ready to attend public meetings,[7] which favors a more progressive attitude in their business and other relations.

The tendency is, then, for similar economic conditions to develop similar traits and for these to be confirmed by the influence on each other of those subject to the similar conditions. So there tend to be areas in which the farmers have certain traits developed by the industry of that area. There are also certain local areas in which the farmers have traits different from those of farmers of other local areas of the same industry. The hop farmers of our typical town lived very near the city of A and were somewhat more given to speculation than hop farmers who lived in more isolated hop districts. The dairy farmers of a hill country differ radically from the dairy farmers on the larger and more level valley farms. In addition to the local and occupational areas of resemblance there are, also, certain great geographical areas in which farmers resemble one another in certain ways. For instance, owing to the fact that extremely enterprising farmers, as well as chronically discontented ones, were being drawn westward at the time of the opening up of the West, the farmers of New York, during the first period of expansion, were more conventional and contented than farmers in many western sections. Finally, all farmers have certain traits in common, at least all "dirt farmers." Land and its cultivation primarily claim their attention. They feel the difference between themselves as a class and the wage earner, the manufacturer, the professional man. The wage earner is dependent on the capitalist for an opportunity to work; the farmer is independent because of his land and is himself an employer of labor.

The manufacturer requires a good deal of capital and has involved relations with financial institutions and markets and employees. The farmer, especially if he owns his own land, feels largely independent of all these complex relations. The professional man requires a long special education while the farmer feels largely independent of the schools. It is this attitude of independence in particular that has distinguished farmers as a class. The result is that, until recently, farmers were unorganized. At the present time organization is seen to be necessary for efficient production as well as for selling. But the farmer's attitudes will remain distinct from those of other occupations because of the small size of agricultural enterprises as compared with manufacturing, because of the various kinds of labor required of the farmer as compared with the specialization of labor in manufacturing, because of the combination of the producing and selling functions in the farmer as compared with the specialization of these functions in manufacturing. Then, too, the farmer's occupation will continue an extremely uncertain one because of its dependence on the weather.

In addition to the occupational conditions that give the farmer distinctive attitudes, there is also his peculiar situation. He lives a more solitary life than other men. He sees less that is unfamiliar and this isolation and predilection for the familiar tends to make him conservative in thinking unless his intellectual impulses are strong, in which case his solitary life encourages reading and reflection. But the philosophical farmer is exceptional. The occasional radicalism of farmers is not the many-sided radicalism that characterizes the intellectual man but a radicalism due to some particular sense of injustice which fixes on some particular reform as a remedy. For this reason, as we shall see, the rural awakening in the second period was largely confined to coöperative marketing. There was a sense of the injustice of the large profits of middle-men and a vigorous movement to remedy that particular injustice. But other aspects of rural life went on much as before. Isolation makes for conservatism and, though the farmer now leads a less solitary life than formerly, he will always be more isolated than men in other occupations.

The analyses of this and the preceding chapters have a bearing on our theory of the economic interpretation of rural development. The traits that distinguish farmers of different industries and farmers as a whole from other occupations are due essentially to differences in economic conditions. Again, the changes in the first period of rural

expansion were essentially economic changes. Economic conditions were what caused the migration between country and village or city. Economic prosperity invited the immigration of foreigners. Economic changes caused the rise of social classes, the break-up of the neighborhood and the development of the community. They caused the increasing contacts with the outer world. Branch lines of railroads were built into the rural districts as a result of the agricultural prosperity. The increase of new forms of pleasure and of organizations for pleasure, the trend of church activity away from the exclusive preaching of doctrine and in the direction of social and esthetic attractions were set in motion by economic changes, as was the increased attendance of rural children at the village schools. Economic prosperity resulted in an increase in social rivalry, particularly in social pleasure, in church activities and in education. Thus rural development in the first period of expansion reveals the fundamental part played by economic conditions.

PART II

THE PERIOD OF READJUSTMENT AND COÖPERATION

CHAPTER XIII

PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF FARMING

THE first period of expansion was one of more or less maladjustment in agriculture owing to competition with the West and to changing conditions in the East. Consequently there was a growing tendency, among intelligent farmers who had command of capital, to experiment with new lines of agriculture, and to specialize in the crop or animal industry which their conditions made profitable. This tendency toward specialization makes the tracing of the psychological processes of rural development more complicated in the periods of expansion than in the study of the early days. For this reason we begin the analysis of the second period of expansion with a discussion of the psychological effects of different kinds of farming. This subject has thus far received little attention from students of rural populations and the present chapter merely sets forth the problem.

Before doing this we must note a tendency that is exactly contrary to the one stated in the previous paragraph. While farmers have tended to experiment with new lines of agriculture, there is a contrary inclination that is even more pronounced. In spite of the fact that another kind may at the time be more profitable, farmers tend to "stick" to the kind of farming they have adopted, because the lay of their land and other conditions do not favor a change, because their capital is tied up in that industry, or because the farmer dislikes to change from the kind of farming in which he is versed to another kind. While, therefore, one might suppose that a farmer would pass from one industry to another without any considerable change in the relative profitableness of the two, as a matter of fact such is not generally the case.

In addition to the tendency toward specialization there was a tendency toward a more widely diversified farming than had obtained since the early days.[1] This had several causes, of which all did not necessarily operate in any particular case, but all enter into the explanation of the movement as a whole. In the first place the losses incurred in specialization (for instance, in wheat and hop farming)

prejudiced many farmers against it. In the second place the growth of cities and the rise of the canning industry caused an increasing demand for a variety of farm products, and these conditions encouraged diversified farming. Also the extension of trolley lines and the auto truck gave an immense impetus to the production of vegetables, fruits and milk for the adjacent cities. When we reflect that in New York less than a quarter of the products of the farm are ever carried by railroad, that more than three quarters are hauled to adjacent towns and cities and consumed locally,[2] we see the importance of the improvements made in hauling. Third, farmers prefer diversified farming because of their desire to reduce the risk—three or four different crops are less likely to fail than one. Fourth, diversified farming distributes the farmer's work more evenly over the year and reduces the requirement of hired help. It is evident that the farmer's work is less crowded when he has different crops maturing at different times than when he has one crop maturing all at once. This is important in connection with the scarcity of farm labor, which makes it difficult to get the necessary help in rush periods.

There is, of course, no hard and fast line between specialized and diversified farming. Even the fruit farmer, because of the risk involved in raising fruit, usually has several other crops that assure a regular income. And he diversifies his fruit—has some early apples, some later and some very late ones, possibly also cherries and other fruits that ripen before apples—in order that the harvesting may be distributed over a long period. However, though it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line, it is evident that some farms come on one side of the line and others on the other. Specialized farming is particularly noticeable among men who command considerable capital and manage their own farms or hire managers.

The effect of specialization is not limited to certain attitudes that develop as a result of raising certain crops or producing certain animal products. It may determine to a considerable extent the farmer's social relations. Specialization has had this effect less in the North than in the South where farmers concentrate on a single cash crop, cotton or tobacco,[3] and neglect the side lines that in the North are relied on for some return in case of the failure of the main crop. The southern practice has resulted in: (1) A need of extensive marketing and a consequent dependence on middlemen for marketing; (2) an increase of farm tenancy because tobacco and cotton can be produced by labor of low intelligence; (3) a dependence on the

moneyed class for holding the crop against a poor market, for it is not perishable but can be held for an indefinite period. These various conditions have made cotton and tobacco farming less agricultural enterprises than speculative ventures, and the result is that these industries have passed more and more under the control of the moneyed class.[4] It is interesting to compare with these effects the social effects of hop raising with which we are already familiar. There was a similar dependence on middlemen for marketing and on financial aid in holding the crop. But, unlike cotton, hops required labor of considerable intelligence. So there was not the development of absentee ownership and tenant farming that has taken place in the South. Moneyed men who owned hop farms and lived in the villages spent their time supervising their farms. The farm was not given over so exclusively to the single crop as in the South. So the attitudes of hop farmers differed from those of cotton farmers.

Having presented some general considerations that bear on our problem, let us now take up several important industries of New York and specify certain respects in which the conditions of each industry seem to have affected the psychological processes of those engaged in it.

Fruit Growing

The apple industry in New York has usually been carried on as a speciality on the general farm. The other crops of the farm meet the current expenses, leaving the orchard to make a profit in good years.[5] The orchards on the general farm have been receiving more attention as the apple industry has become more profitable, and there has also been an increase in the number of farms on which fruit growing is the main business. There are several distinctive features of this industry. The fruit grower has a heavy investment. His orchards are valuable property. He must make a considerable investment in spraying machinery, insecticides, fungicides, fertilizer, trucks and other equipment. He must have skilled labor in spraying, pruning and harvesting the fruit. He must estimate his profits over a long term of years and take large risks. At certain seasons he must employ considerable labor and must have his labor at the vital moment or lose his crop. He must, therefore, be a high type of business manager, and must himself be skilled in every phase of the art of fruit growing.

These conditions of the industry tend to develop certain traits, and men who do not have these traits are gradually eliminated as fruit

growers. The process of elimination works like this: in a year of low prices or crop failure, the fruit farmers who are least successful uproot their trees, in whole or in part, and plant vegetables or grain. Another phase of the process of elimination lies in the increasing practice of grading fruit and limiting coöperative marketing to the selling only of high grades. This has so improved the quality of fruit that growers who produce a poor apple cannot market it except at the cider mill or evaporator, and the expense of orcharding is coming to be such that this low grade fruit hardly pays expenses. Of course the unskilled fruit grower may continue to produce as a general farmer with an orchard on his hands. But this is not the type of farmer we are studying when we study the occupational traits of the fruit grower. In the same way dairymen must produce milk that comes up to the standard set by the state regulations or market their milk as home-made butter. Farmers whose milk falls below the standard still continue to produce milk but these are not the dairymen we have in mind in discussing the occupational traits of dairymen.

What now are the traits developed by fruit growing? In the first place it is one of the most pleasant agricultural industries. Working with plants and trees appeals to the esthetic side of human nature. Appreciation of beauty is one aspect of native intelligence. Fruit growing enlists many unusually intelligent young farmers and this intelligence is developed by the practice of their vocation. Successful fruit growing requires unusual knowledge, skill, accuracy, and thoroughness. For instance, the apple grower must spray his trees several times and each time just when the leaves or the blossoms have reached a certain point in their growth. He must do it thoroughly and just at the proper times. He must be alert for improved methods of spraying and pruning. The selling of the crop also requires intelligence. He is handling perishable goods and has a choice of markets. Prices fluctuate a good deal from year to year.[6] Thus the fruit industry calls for unusual intelligence in production and marketing.

The successful fruit farmer is less likely to do his work according to rule than some other farmers; he is more eager for the results of experiments by experts and more inclined to adopt suggestions before driven to it to avoid loss. It is worthy of note that no class of farmers in the state maintains such an active and well supported organization for the discussion of their problems as the New York State Horticultural Society.

The intelligence of the successful fruit grower is seen when he takes up some side line. For instance, if he plants potatoes he sometimes tries to produce an improved variety that he can sell at a high price as seed potatoes. If he plants oats he tries to produce an improved variety to sell as seed. Fruit growers have immensely improved the quality of their fruit, and often they carry over to their side lines this impulse to improve quality.

Another trait of fruit farmers grows out of their risk taking. They take a large risk because of their investment and because of the chance of crop failure or of low prices. Their readiness to take a risk becomes so real a trait that the fruit farmer would not want an agricultural industry that paid a regular, small income, like dairying. It is not merely that he enjoys risk taking but that he enjoys its challenge to the intellect to convert the gambler's chance into a reasonable risk. For instance, fruit farming is dependent on the weather for certain vital operations, as spraying. There is much risk involved in this dependence on the weather. But the fruit farmer makes use of the Weather Bureau to reduce this risk, while other classes of farmers are more likely to "stick to" the old weather signs and proverbs. Thus: "The value of the western New York apple crop averages about $12,000,000 a year, and the value of other fruit in the district is $6,000,000. It is estimated that $500,000 are spent each year in spraying, with a resulting increase in the value of the fruit of $6,000,000. It has been found that . . . the spray must be applied before a spell of rainy weather. Because of the size of the orchards it takes from two to three days to apply the spray. Spray specialists were called in to advise the orchardists when to apply the different sprays and they, in turn, called on the Weather Bureau for forecasts of spells of rainy weather far enough in advance to apply the spray during the fair weather intervening. As the regular weather forecasts are made for only 36 or 48 hours in advance, it became necessary for the Bureau to inaugurate a special forecast service for fruit spraying. In 1919 a special representative of the Bureau was located in Rochester, very near the center of the fruit-growing district." [7] "A complete system for the immediate distribution of these warnings was inaugurated, so that practically every fruit grower in six or seven counties received them early the next morning, and could at once start his campaign against fruit diseases. The plan was so successful that it was carried into the Hudson Valley fruit district of New York. . . ." [8]

The intelligence of fruit growers is seen also in their coöperative

marketing. This has had the broad aims of establishing standards of quality and of marketing only standard fruit; of providing the most economical distribution of the product and also of distributing it in a way that would prevent a glut and consequently a low price at any one point. Raising the standard of quality has cut off the less intelligent producers who could not bring their fruit up to the standard. Where this has diminished the supply and raised the price, the tendency has been for the successful producers to extend their acreage. Thus production is in the process of being brought into the hands of the more intelligent and the better equipped farmers.

The intelligence of fruit growers has two essential aspects, mental alertness and constructiveness. The best of them are alert for new ideas in connection with production. They are also constructive—a result of a frame of mind built up in the process of production itself. The large fruit farmer has to show organizing ability on his farm, as a result of the large investment and the unusual number of workmen employed in certain seasons, and this frame of mind fits him to perceive the feasibility of coöperation.

What are the reasons for the comparatively high level of intelligence of fruit growers? One is the fact that this industry is chosen by intelligent young farmers because of its profitableness and its pleasing esthetic aspects. Another is the development of intelligence in the practice of fruit growing and the elimination of unintelligent growers. Still another reason is the effect of the prosperity of fruit growers. Their prosperity and their leisure during several months of the year have given them an incentive to improve their knowledge of fruit growing and to attend meetings for discussion of their problems. Also, they have been able to give their children an unusually good education and these children are now stepping into the ranks of fruit growers. Furthermore, fruit farming requires considerable capital and for this reason, and because of its pleasant esthetic aspects, and also because it requires less exertion and less constant but more careful attention, at certain times, than other kinds of farming, and requires also some shrewdness in business dealings, it attracts business and professional men who wish to retire to the country.

Dairy Farming

Dairy farming is generally carried on along with the raising of hay and forage, grain and other crops, but interest centers in the dairy.

Dairying attracts men who like animals. Some men like to be with animals, others do not like to "mess around with them." Many men do not object even to the most disagreeable aspects of dairying, and their chief joy is in the contemplation of a prize animal. Dairy farming involves less dependence on the season than fruit farming and requires less shrewdness in marketing. The income is regular and comparatively certain, and the net income is, on the whole, smaller than that of the fruit grower. The dairyman's problems are about as various and as vital as are those of the fruit grower. In some of these he is keenly interested, in others less so. His chief interest lies in (1) breeding the most productive cows; (2) determining the most profitable feeding; (3) raising calves most profitably. In the problem of producing high grade milk, he is less interested than in the breed of cows that will produce the largest quantity of milk and the feed that will produce the largest quantity at the lowest price. Now problems of quality require a somewhat finer capacity than problems of quantity. The dairyman has shown somewhat less interest in improving the quality of his product than the fruit grower. There is this to be said, however, about the attitudes of fruit growers and dairymen to quality. An apple of high quality appeals to the eye. Its size, bright color, freedom from blemish delights one. Thus the superior quality of the product of the fruit grower is readily apparent and can be set forth in exhibits. In dairying, however, the product is a white liquid with no apparent difference between good and poor quality. The thing that centers attention is therefore the animal rather than its product. The animal may be of high quality but the milk of poor quality. How much this difference in the center of interest has to do with the dairyman's comparative lack of interest in the quality of his product of course we cannot tell.

The difference between the attention of the dairyman and the fruit grower to quality is seen in the different policies of the two industries relative to the grading of their products. The fruit growers have, as a private organization, worked out a system of rules for standardizing their products and have had these enacted into state regulations.[9] The dairymen, on the other hand, have allowed state officials to prescribe grades and rules for them. Though these are defective, dairymen have been satisfied with producing milk up to the legal standard, and have not aimed to improve quality and to bring the state regulations into conformity with this standard. Why is it that fruit growers established their own grades while dairymen suffered

theirs to be thrust upon them? The answer given by experts is that dairymen are somewhat slower in these matters than fruit growers. However, as will be shown in Chapter XXI, this shortcoming is being made good by the Dairymen's League.

If the standard of intelligence of dairymen as a whole is somewhat lower than that of fruit growers we can see several reasons for the difference. Inefficient dairymen are less likely than inefficient fruit growers to be eliminated from the industry. The dairyman's premises must pass inspection but most dairymen can do that. Another reason is, possibly, the more confining nature of the dairy farmer's industry. He cannot get away for meetings as readily as the fruit grower. A still more important reason is the greater prosperity of fruit growers; the result is that they have a better education and a keener interest in their problems. Wherefore, if dairymen should experience a period of prosperity their intelligence and efficiency would increase and this might accelerate the elimination of the unfit. Possibly coöperative marketing, together with the education carried on by the Dairymen's League, may bring about this development.

It has been maintained that fruit growing involves more varied and vital problems than dairying and that, therefore, the former is a greater stimulus to intelligence. On the other hand, it is maintained that the problems of the dairyman are just as varied and vital as those of the fruit grower. The dairyman is faced with the constant problem of improving his breed of cattle, the constant problem of diseases of animals, the constant problem of new combinations of feed, of improvements in the methods of milking and care of milk in order to improve the quality. Apparently conditions of the one industry are as stimulating to the intelligence as are those of the other. Yet the New York State Dairymen's Association, which holds an annual meeting for discussion of dairy problems, entirely fails as an organization of dairy farmers. Very few farmers attend the meetings.

Vegetable Farming

Vegetable farming in New York is a distinct agricultural industry. Vegetable growers are of three kinds, truck farmers, market gardeners and canning crops growers. Truck farmers grow a special vegetable crop or a few crops in large quantities for a distant market. Market gardeners grow a greater variety of vegetables for a local market. They cultivate more intensively than the truck farmer. Canning crops

growers plant, harvest, and deliver their crops according to contracts with canning companies. Most of the vegetable canning crops are produced by the general farmer, in rotation with grains and other farm crops. The cultivation is less intensive than that of the market gardener.[10] These types of farmers have different traits. The market gardener requires the intelligence and care necessary for intensive cultivation and for shrewd bargaining with grocer or customer in the public market. The canning crops growers until recently were general farmers accustomed to doing things largely by rule and their business dealings were of the simplest kind. The result was that when a few years ago they began to produce extensively for canning and other companies their attitudes made them unsuited for these new business dealings in which they plant, harvest, and deliver their crop according to contract. This sudden passing from the old agricultural economy into the new business economy resulted in some parts of the state in gross violations of contracts on the part both of companies and farmers, and a feeling of bitterness developed between the two groups.[11] Thus was repeated in the second period the experience of hop farmers in the first. This is not the only instance in which one group of farmers has failed to profit by the earlier experience of another group.

Producers of vegetables have various problems of production—problems of seeds, of soils and soil preparation, of fertilizers, cultivation, rotation, diseases and insects.[12] But the interest of these farmers in their problems is less keen than that of the fruit growers. Vegetable growing requires incessant work, and it also requires the skill that comes only by experience and from a knowledge of the local practices, while fruit growing possibly requires more knowledge than an experiment station can furnish. Of course the leading vegetable growers of a locality acquire the new knowledge of the experiment station and so eventually it passes into the local practice. In fruit growing there is little local practice, that is, spraying for a certain insect is done in the same way in one locality as in another.

There is another notable difference between vegetable growers, especially market gardeners, and fruit growers. If the gardener finds a strain that is unusually productive, or a method of cultivation or of combating insects that works well, he is likely to keep it to himself. If a fruit grower finds something that gives him an advantage, he publishes his knowledge of it. That is, the market gardeners and to some extent other vegetable growers have come to think of them-

selves as competing for a market and have adopted the secrecy of competition while the fruit growers do not think of themselves as competing. Their aim is rather to coöperate in establishing certain standards of quality and in marketing fruit of those standards over an extensive market in such a way as to prevent low prices at any point.

The vegetable farmers have a state organization for the discussion of their problems, the New York State Vegetable Growers' Association, but it is not so well supported as the fruit growers organization. One reason is that the vegetable grower is less concentrated on a specific group of problems. Many vegetable growers shift from one vegetable to another and to grain, according to the state of the market. Consequently they lack the sustained scientific interest of the man who is specializing year after year in a certain crop or animal industry. A compact body of problems on which interest converges is indispensable for a live organization for discussion.

Grain Farming

Grain farming is not as profitable in New York as the kinds already mentioned. It is carried on by the general farmer who wants straw on which to bed his animals and who uses grain crops for rotation with others. Farmers could buy their straw and could use more profitable crops in rotation but the grain tradition is strong in the state. In addition to the general farmer there is a considerable number who still make grain their chief crop. These are farmers who lack enterprise and inclination to specialize and continue along the old lines; or they lack capital to drain and improve their land in a way to make it good vegetable or fruit land; or their location is remote and unfavorable for dairying or canning crops or fruit. Grain farmers are likely to be bound by the traditions of their fathers. In some sections there has been a process of selection in which the more intelligent farmers have gone more into fruit growing, the less intelligent into grain. Where grain land on the upland was adjacent to fruit land on the lake shore, in some cases the more intelligent among the young farmers went down to the shore and became fruit farmers, and thriftless fruit farmers who lost their farms went to the less expensive grain farms on the upland.

The grain farmer is somewhat less dependent on intelligence for success than are farmers in other agricultural industries because his problems are less complex. He is content to prepare the soil and sow

in the conventional way and then trust to the chance of the seasons. This fatalistic attitude is sometimes seen in fruit farmers who lack the intelligence necessary for the most successful fruit farming. One sometimes finds a fruit farmer who has not the initiative after a late frost in the spring to go out and examine the rudimentary blossoms to see if they are blackened. If black, the blossom is killed and there will be no fruit. If the wife urges him to go out and examine the buds the reply is likely to be, "What difference does it make? We cannot do anything about it," which is quite true though it might make a decided difference in the farmer's calculations if he thought there would be no fruit that year. The point is that he prefers, like the farmers of the old days, to go ahead in the customary attitude of waiting in resigned frame of mind to see what the harvest will be.

The agricultural industries thus differ in the attitudes developed in production. An inductive study of the attitudes of different industries would include not only the intellectual attitudes but all others, though it would center on the intellectual, particularly on attitudes indicative of mental alertness and of constructiveness. As to alertness this is in the first instance a matter of sensitiveness, so that different men in the same industry will differ in alertness. It is also a product of experience. The sensitive fruit grower is alert to facts about his trees, the sensitive dairyman to facts about his animals. He sees things that others do not see because these things have a significance for him. In certain occupations sensitiveness of hearing and smell also serve the farmer well. Now a study of different agricultural industries suggests that industries differ in the degree of alertness required for survival and success in them. For instance, grain farming seems to require less alertness than bee keeping. Every swarm of bees is a problem in manipulation different from every other. The bee keeper keeps a written record of each swarm, which he consults at each new manipulation. Furthermore, the spread of bee diseases in recent years has increased the necessity of alert attention, for the diseases are infectious and destroy whole colonies unless promptly dealt with. The signs of disease are evident only to a sensitive and experienced eye, ear and olfactory sense; and the necessity of unusual alertness is seen in the elimination of a large number of bee keepers who lack it.[13] The need of alertness explains why, in spite of the comparatively small capital required for bee keeping and the profitableness of the industry, there is a much smaller number of bee keepers in New York than the blossom bearing areas would support. Alertness is more vital in bee keeping

even than in fruit growing. The fruit grower who lacks alertness still has his orchard but the bee keeper who lacks it soon has nothing but empty hives. This illustrates how different industries require different degrees of alertness. This line of research is not merely an academic one but is of practical importance from the point of view of vocational guidance.[14]

Agricultural industries differ also in the requirement of constructiveness or organizing ability. The actual work of bee keeping, for instance, does not require much constructiveness, although bee keeping is passing into the hands of large commercial bee keepers who have organizing ability. All farming on a large scale requires organizing ability. So in the study of the constructiveness required for success in different industries we have to distinguish between the constructiveness required in the work itself and that required in the administration of a large enterprise.

Every agricultural industry experiences certain crises which tend to eliminate certain farmers. One kind of crisis is low prices, as a result of which some men drop out of every industry. Another kind of crisis is a change in the conditions of the industry. As has been said, there came a time in bee keeping when, on account of the increase of bee diseases, more scientific treatment of the frames and hives was needed. Some bee keepers were capable of this and those who were not had to go out of the business. Another kind of crisis is a rise in the standards of quality. Raising the standards of marketable fruit necessitates increasing care, as well as capital, in the treatment of the orchards and men who are incapable of this have to go out of the business. There seems to be a general tendency in agriculture toward an increase of the intelligence required for adaptation to changed conditions. Farmers who lack this adaptability go out of agriculture, or continue as tenants and laborers. This tendency is more marked in some industries than in others, wherefore the less intelligent farmers go from industries that require more adaptability to those that require less intelligence and more physical exertion. Thus the process of competition in agriculture has its psychological side—not that farmers are conscious of competing with one another as merchants and manufacturers are, but there is an adjustment in agriculture which requires for its explanation not only economic but also psychological analysis.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RURAL SITUATION

THE agricultural depression in the East which resulted from the opening up of the West continued on into the second period of expansion. But the strategic position of New York could leave no doubt as to the ultimate recovery of agriculture. Over four-fifths of the population of the state in 1920 was urban [1] which meant an extensive market for the products of the farm. Over two-thirds of the land area of the state was in farms and about two-thirds of the land in farms was improved land.[2] In addition to its own urban population, New York is surrounded by other states with large cities. Fippin writes: "The states and provinces touching New York and including its own area have an aggregate population of thirty millions. A circle described around Syracuse as a center and with a radius of five hundred miles would include not only this population but would add most of that of several other states, with a total population of about fifty millions." [3] Four-fifths of this population live in villages or cities. The farmers of New York are, therefore, close to the largest urban population of any similar area on the western hemisphere. This strategic position is bound eventually to result in rising prices of agricultural products, in rising farm values and more intensive cultivation.

Rural New York since 1900 has seen great improvements in facilities of communication and transportation; in farm machinery and methods of farming. Above all there has been an unprecedented development of agricultural organization. The thinking farmers of New York are at one with thinking farmers throughout the United States and in European countries in their realization of the possibilities of progress through coöperation.[4]

Up to the time of the World War the prosperity of agriculture in New York continued at low ebb. This was due to certain evil tendencies of long standing. First, the fertility of the soil was depleted and fertilizer was more expensive and of poorer quality. Second, while farm machinery had been invented and agricultural methods im-

proved, farmers felt little incentive to avail themselves of these improvements because they were not receiving sufficient income to pay interest on the capital invested in their farm and adequate wages for their own labor. Third, these adverse conditions had caused a movement of farm population that broke up the stability of the relations of the rural community. The satisfactions of the farmer's life depended a good deal on stable community relations, which furnished many abiding satisfactions. His independence and his satisfying home and neighborhood life made up for the small financial returns of farming. With these recompenses gone—with his old neighbors disappearing, his children gone—the advantages of farm life seemed small indeed.

The movement of the farm population is the inevitable result of the decadence of agriculture and the growth of manufacturing and commerce. Throughout the second period there has been a movement back and forth from the farms to the cities and from the cities to the farms according to the state of agriculture and manufacturing at the time. The movement from the farms to the cities has been generally in excess of the movement from the cities to the farms.[5] This has been due not only to economic conditions at the time but also to education. As a result of education there has been a movement from the farms of boys and girls who have been educated in village high schools for city occupations.[6] The median age of leaving the farms is twenty-one years.[7] The movement toward the cities seems, then, to be an inevitable effect of economic conditions and education.[8]

In addition to the movement between the farms and the cities, there is the movement from one farming region to another. The increase of farm machinery has caused a movement from the hill farms, where machinery cannot be used to advantage and which are worked at high labor cost, to the more level farming regions.[9]

The inevitableness of the movement of farm population is evident from the fact that "there is a tendency for as many persons to stay with the farm as the farm will support. If it will support more persons than are needed to operate it, the older persons become landlords or sell out and move to town, and those of the younger generation take over the farm. If the profits are not sufficient to pay off the mortgage and allow the owner to sell out or become a landlord, he must remain on the farm, and the members of the younger generation are forced into occupations other than farming. There has been much discussion as to the proportion of tenant farms necessary to give a proper balance between tenant and owner farms. The conclusion reached depends

somewhat on how old one considers a farmer should be when he quits farming. A situation with either too much or too little tenantry is unhealthy; but, of the two, probably the condition of too little tenantry is the more serious. In New York State there is a tenant problem, but it is usually not too much, but too little, tenantry." [10] New York remains a state of small farms,[11] and, in 1920, only 19.2 per cent of the farms were operated by tenants, an increase of only 2.7 per cent since 1880.[12] This is not a high figure for tenancy as compared with some states.[13] In New York as in other states owners are more stable than tenants,[14] but the instability of tenancy is due less to the mere fact of tenancy than to its conditions. When farming is unprofitable for the owner living on his farm, the condition of farm tenants is not likely to be very satisfactory. Tenancy is an unsound economic condition unless conditions are such that a tenant of the requisite capacity can confidently look forward to ownership.

We are faced, then, with the fact that the essential reason for an abnormal movement of farm population to the cities is the unprofitableness of farming. This has been true throughout the second period. In spite of its unprofitableness, farmers who owned their farms have tended to stick to farming because they had capital tied up and could not sell out except at a loss. The more property a farmer had the greater the loss he would incur by selling and so the more difficult it was to get out of the business.[15] So the class of farmers that tended to stick were the more well-to-do, who could stand an unprofitable venture for a time, while those who owned little or nothing were freer to get out of the business. As to the unprofitableness of farming it has not been due to the fact that farmers lack an "experimental knowledge" of their vocation for, according to a recent investigation, seventy-five to eighty-five per cent of farm operators in New York were sons of farmers.[16] It has been due rather to farmers' lack of training for scientific farming and for coöperative buying and marketing, and to the growth of monopoly which has resulted in high prices of fuel, farm materials and equipment.

Owing to the unprofitableness of farming, farmers were no longer attached to their farms as they had been, so the tendency to move to town, when possible, which was marked in the first period, was even more marked in the second. To be sure, under the most favorable agricultural conditions there is a movement from the farms to the villages. Farmers move to town in order to get a little respite from hard work before they die, in order the more easily to educate their

children, or, if they have inherited an income, in order to live without working.[17] Unfavorable conditions stimulate this impulse to get off the farm.

While the decline of agriculture stimulated the movement of young people toward the cities that movement was due also to other causes, for it had become noticeable in rural New York long before there was any decline of agriculture. By 1900 it had become marked throughout the United States and in European countries.[18] One cause of it is the lonesomeness of rural life.[19] Particularly to the homeless man is the country forbidding. The farm laborer has a roof over his head but does not belong to the home. He lives a lonely life as compared with the workmen of the cities. This is one reason for the scarcity of farm labor. Men live not for earning pay but for satisfactions and the city would lure laborers from the country even if they were not dissatisfied with their work or pay. Farm work is rendered still more unattractive because it is a seasonal occupation, and workmen in such occupations prefer to live in the city where they can more readily get work in another occupation when there is none in their own. Even when rural life is not lonesome, as for boys and girls of a happy farm family, it is monotonous as compared with the city. City life gives more varied stimulation, both in work and play. Boys who lack initiative feel the need of stimulus in work, and are averse to the life of the farmer because he has to plan and carry on his work alone. Opportunities for enjoyment, also, lure youth from the country.[20] A wilderness of people lures many, much as the primeval wilderness lures the hunter. People express this lure in various ways according to the particular impulses awakened. One young man from the rural districts said: "In the city you can lose yourself in a crowd. You don't have to think about your neighbors." A young woman said: "In the city you meet so many interestng people." An ambitious youth said: "If you succeed in the city you can succeed anywhere." Another person said: "In the city you can get away from yourself," that is, get away from disappointments or anxiety. So the city lures one into the crowd, lures the youth to go and make his way in the world and prove his superiority in money making, lures those who are disappointed to go away and find a new life. The lure of the city is in proportion to its size. A young man who had succeeded in newspaper work in New York City congratulated one who had come there to teach in a college with the words, "If you succeed in New York you can succeed anywhere." One is amused at this conceit of the New

Yorker but throughout the state one finds this sense of the superiority of being a citizen of New York City.

The lure of the city is due to its surpassing social stimulation. In addition, of course there are advantages of city life that appeal to thoughtful people. In the city it is easier for thoughtful people to find congenial associates, to get away from coarseness and conventionality. It is easier to find the niche for which one is fitted, and to satisfy impulses for development of personality. There is no denying that talent of every kind tends to gravitate to the city.

This lure of the city, due to all these causes, was accentuated in the latter part of the first period and in the second period by the decline of agriculture. The farm prices of products were low and the farmers themselves talked down their occupation and complained of its hardships and small returns. Farming seemed to be more unprofitable than other occupations and to require more exertion and involve more worry. So farmers' children naturally grew up with the idea of leaving the farm as soon as possible.

This reason for disparaging the occupation of farming is, it must be confessed, not the only one that has influenced the farmer. He suffers from a misapprehension as to the advantages of city work, as compared with farm work. Among the advantages of farm work are that the farmer is his own boss, plans his work himself, passes from one job to another as he pleases, can "favor himself" if on any occasion he happens not to feel up to par. He has the satisfaction of accomplishing one definite thing after another. The worker in shop, or factory or transportation, on the other hand, may work shorter hours but he works under a boss. He is likely to have to work intensely while he does work, cannot let up if he feels below par, does not have the satisfaction of completing any definite job but merely puts in the required number of hours. He cannot take a day off when he feels like it. Above all he is not as sure of his job as is the farmer. There is the tension of competition with others who want his job.

Another misapprehension of the farmer is as to the prestige of different occupations. The hard work and low returns of agriculture, as compared with the apparent light labor and the higher returns of many city occupations, has spread abroad the impression that farming is "hayseed business," that city occupations are superior. The tendency of modern life is toward ease rather than work and a man who appears to be making money without apparent exertion is assumed to be a man of brains. Especially does the excessively hard life of the

farmer cause him to envy the man who makes his living easily. When these men of soft life make a good deal of money their prestige is still further enhanced. The farmer and his wife betray their susceptibility to the prestige of the banker or other money lender of the village, to the merchant, the produce dealer, even though they make disparaging remarks about these and other village people. Then, too, the boys who win prestige in the rural districts are not those who settle down on farms and become good farmers but those who show unusual brightness in the village school and go to college and become business or professional men in the cities. It is evident that parents are a good deal more proud of a boy who has made good in the city than of one who has made good on an adjoining farm. So the farmers themselves by their attitude encourage the emigration of the young to the cities. There are exceptions. Some farmers urge their children to remain in the country, try to make the farm an attractive place, and maintain that rural life is better than city life. These are the prosperous farmers. The attitude of most farmers to their occupation is not such as to encourage their children to follow it.

The movement of population from the rural parts to the cities has not been an unmitigated evil. It has drawn away many who would not have been very successful farmers but who succeeded in the city in tasks more congenial to their tastes. It also has relieved the country of many who would have been exploiters or a burden or a nuisance. But the cities have attracted many who were better fitted for agriculture than for city life. And they have lured youths of unusual initiative, who would otherwise have been rural leaders.[21] This is one reason for the rural decadence. Many of the natural leaders went elsewhere and the mass remained working in the conventional way, apparently content with the conventional "living."

The rural conservatism noted at the end of the first period of expansion marked the entire second period because of the persistence of the conditions of conservatism. The emigration of the young continued. So to a degree did the environmental conditions of conservatism—isolation, the hard and constant manual work, the economic independence of farmers, their normal home life. Furthermore, most of the farmers of New York are natives of the state. In 1921, 81 per cent of the farm operators, 78 per cent of their wives, 51 per cent of their fathers, and 49 per cent of their wives' fathers were born in New York.[22] Add to this the fact that 82 per cent of the farmers of the state were sons of farmers, and that 73 per cent of their wives were

daughters of farmers [23] and we see that the population was highly homogeneous, which strengthened its conservatism. The mental and moral resemblance was increased by the tendency among farmers toward intermarriage between family groups of long acquaintance.

This conservatism is weakening because of the passing of isolation, of independence, of the stable economic and social relations, and of the satisfying home life of the past when the children of the farmer intended to become farmers, and often settled near by. The farmer is more and more thrown back on the financial side of farming as the only side to consider, and, as he comes into closer contact with the centers of population, its financial advantages seem, by comparison, hardly worth considering. The depression that followed the World War has intensified this discontent. The psychological effect of depression is the same in case of farmers as of business men generally. Depression stimulates downright thinking on one's economic problems.[24] It compelled the farmer to think, which merely confirmed the conviction of the preceding years, "We've got to do something." The depression thus enabled agricultural leaders to make themselves heard; and the result was a tremendous impetus to the coöperative movement. The high degree of moral resemblance among farmers that was noted in the preceding paragraph facilitated the coöperative movement, once it got under way. This movement is one aspect of a nation-wide rural awakening which had begun before the depression.[25]

CHAPTER XV

CHANGES IN NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

THE conditions which most affected the development of the community in the second period of expansion were the development of gasoline transportation and improved roads and the rise of the Farm Bureau and the coöperatives. The auto and improved roads enable the farmers to get to the village more quickly and easily than heretofore. Association with the cities also is more intimate, for roads irradiate from the cities in all directions and this unites the communities surrounding a city into a sort of larger community. A farmer thinks no more of driving twenty miles down the state road to the city than, in the old days, he thought of hitching up and driving several miles over a rough road to the village. So for certain purposes the city becomes the center of a number of communities. The city is conscious of its position as the trade center of the surrounding communities. For instance, the Utica Observer-Dispatch printed the following editorial in July, 1925, commenting on the action of the Common Council in refusing to allow a bus line from a neighboring village to enter the city: "If there is one thing Utica needs to do more than any other it is to make these (surrounding) villages feel that they are a part of the Utica community. The old days of community isolation are past. Good roads, automobiles, trolleys, soon the airplane are seeing to this. . . .

". . . . With changing economic conditions and methods of merchandising it is impossible for the village institutions to supply all the wants of the villager. The wise and far seeing village merchants have realized this and are stocking mainly the immediate essentials and are leaving the larger places to supply the commodities purchased only at intervals instead of daily. . . . We want people of all the towns in Utica's logical territory to feel that Utica is a good place to visit and a good place to trade." Thus the basis of this larger community is the economic relation of the surrounding country to the city as the trading center. However, the village remains the place where the farmer's family habitually does most of its trading and has most of its social life.

The rural population of the state has long been organized in more or less well defined communities centering around the villages as trading centers. The Dairymen's League and other coöperative societies and the Farm Bureau have united these communities in concerted action for common ends. This coming to the front of the rural population has resulted in a change in the community newspapers. For instance, the paper of our typical community is now primarily a farmer's instead of a villager's paper. The usual space is devoted to the doings of the villagers but more space than before is given to farmers' interests. Its columns are filled with news of interest to progressive farmers—news of the Dairymen's League, of the Farm Bureau, and of doings of Congress that touch the vital interests of the farmer. Thus the interests of the community have taken a new turn. In 1923 every dairy farmer was a member of the Dairymen's League. The Farm Bureau had members throughout the community. These organizations had their meeting places in the village. The village men's club had enlarged its membership, moved into new quarters and now aimed to be a citizens' club, for farmers as well as men of the village. The Home Bureau clubs had become the clubs of chief interest to the women. Finally, the rural education had come to center more than ever in the village because of the discontinuance of several of the rural district schools. The essential change in this community was an economic one. Whereas, twenty-five years ago, the dairy farmers had despaired of ever being able to coöperate, Blanktown was now a unit for economic coöperation.

There was somewhat less feeling of separateness between the rural and village populations in the second period of expansion than formerly but this change can be over-emphasized. Only a very small percentage of village populations is engaged in agriculture.[1] In this important respect of occupation, then, the villages are as distinct from the rural populations as ever. However, whereas the village has, in the past, been merely a trading center in which the farmer was more or less of a stranger,[2] there seems to be somewhat less aloofness between the two sections, at least in a prosperous farming region where farmers have raised their standard of living.[3] The best farm-house is heated by a furnace and has running water and bath-room. It may be lighted by electricity, may have pianola, victrola, radio. There is the rural mail delivery and the telephone. Farmers no longer feel inferior to village folks. The farmer does not hesitate to invite village folks to his home. And they are glad to come. The automobile facili-

tates this visiting back and forth. It enables farmers' families to come in frequently to the moving pictures and basket ball games. However, though the family's recreation centers in the village, the rural population, even in a prosperous section, is distinct from that of the village; and in the hill country farmers and village people seem as separate and prejudiced against each other as ever.

The decrease in social feeling within the rural neighborhood that was noted in the first period of expansion has become more pronounced. The rising standard of living and the automobile have done a good deal to diminish sociability among neighbors. A farmer's family that has a fine home is not likely to be intimate with a neighboring family that has a poor home. Before the days of the automobile mere propinquity made neighbors more or less intimate. Today the automobile enables farmers to pick their associates much as do people in cities. The intimate friends may live miles away. There is less sociability even among intimate families. Instead of coming to stay the afternoon, the farmer's family is out for a long ride to some adjacent city and drives into a friend's yard for a few minutes; then away they go.

Some neighborhoods have maintained a pronounced neighborhood consciousness. This is due to isolation, or to centering around some neighborhood center, as a school, a church, a Grange, a neighborhood business, as a cheese factory or creamery, or to likeness of nationality, or to kinship, or to the fact that houses are clustered in a hamlet and the families know each other as do the families on a village street. However, all of these conditions of neighborhood consciousness are passing. Isolation is passing and so is the neighborhood united by kinship and by ties of old-world nationality. The hamlet, because of the shifting of farm tenants and owners and the migration of farm laborers, is less and less of a neighborhood than formerly.

In Chapter III we saw that the essential conditions of neighborhood feeling were that the families felt social pressure toward like behavior and did certain things together. Outside influences have weakened neighborhood pressure and outside interests have diminished the things that neighbors do together almost to the vanishing point. In some neighborhoods a community house has been established to encourage doing things together. These houses in some cases have revived the old neighborhood feeling;[4] in other cases the house was frequented awhile and then abandoned.[5] The community house idea is most likely to succeed in hamlets that are so isolated from villages because of distance or hills that it is difficult to get there frequently. On the whole,

then, the trend is away from instead of toward the maintenance of the neighborhood as an essential rural group. In the West neighborhood feeling seems to be somewhat more alive, owing to the isolation due to the greater distances, to the stronger ties of kinship and nationality and to the fact that the tradition of the settlement of the area by a band of kindred spirits is more recent.[6]

While the neighborhood has diminished, the community has increased in importance.[7] Its center is the village which is the farmer's trading place and shipping point. He thinks of himself as a member of a rural community that centers around the village. But he thinks of "we farmers" as distinct from the villagers. This feeling is inevitable, owing to the difference in occupation and location. The essential requisite for the development of the rural community is that the farmers' families shall want a community worth living in, one in which the children and the whole family shall find a satisfying life, and that they shall coöperate for this end. Most of the farmers of a community know each other casually or by reputation. Their families meet each other in the organizations that center in the village. Acquaintance throughout the community has been stimulated by the automobile. Thus people are brought more intimately together, but the impulses stirred by the increasing intimacy have not necessarily been impulses that make for community spirit. The automobile enables farmers to see the fields and orchards of other farmers far and wide, and to visit one another's homes. But this may increase rivalry. Rivalry stimulates industry throughout a community, that one's fields and orchards may look as well as those of another. It stimulates farmers' families to have things as good as other families have in the home. It causes jealousies and pride, which are fatal to community spirit. The latter involves a willingness to forego personal ends for the sake of certain community ends;[8] and its development requires leaders who are competent to devise community projects and enlist the farmers in carrying them out.

Projects of coöperation have done more than any others toward this development of community spirit. The coöperative organizations, the Farm Bureau and the Grange, though state-wide organizations, are essentially local enterprises. Consequently the analysis of the coöperatives and of the Farm Bureau and the Grange logically follows this chapter. In one sense the coöperatives have been less effective in this connection than the Grange, because the latter is a social organization that may unite all the members of the rural community,

villagers as well as farmers. On the other hand the coöperative society is the most vital of all for the farmer in that it is concerned with increasing income in a way that he can easily understand. This common interest has united the farmers of rural communities in the Dairymen's League locals, of which there are over nine hundred. These are incorporated and each local association has a president, secretary and treasurer and a board of directors elected by the farmers of the community. The local association meets once a month to discuss its business. The central administration has little to do with influencing local affairs. These local associations develop the latent leadership of the community for the farmers learn how to conduct meetings, discuss their own business, and arrange banquets and other social activities. A man who can get on his feet and discuss League activities with his brother dairymen finds that when he attends the political primary or the church business meeting he can get up there and talk just the same. Thus the local coöperative is a stimulus to community leadership. The net-work of Dairymen's League locals extends throughout a large part of the dairy section of the state and this cannot but have a marked effect on the development of the rural communities. Other coöperative societies have a similar effect.

The radio is increasing the farmer's contacts with the outside world. Some farmers are more likely to come in to dinner on time than formerly because the reports of the prices of agricultural products are broadcast at just twelve o'clock. Dealers in farm products find these informed farmers somewhat shrewder than before they were regularly informed on prices. The farmer also listens to addresses on coöperation and on other problems vital to his welfare. Thus the radio not only furnishes him amusement in his isolation but gives him contacts with the outside world that are vital to his interests.

One of the most important psychological aspects of a community is the tendency of the people, farmers and villagers, to be influenced by certain leading citizens of the community. The farmer thinks of these men—the banker, the doctor, the manager of the cold storage plant—as having better opportunities than he has for being informed on current events, so he is influenced by their opinions. In agricultural affairs the leaders are influential farmers but in other matters the word of some business or professional man may go a long way. The influence of these local men is, however, subject to the contrary influence of the newspapers as moulders of opinion. To be sure

the local leaders will not usually differ from the newspapers for these are generally their source of ideas.

Certain traditional antagonisms of the community still persist. Among these are the feeling against foreigners and the feeling between farmers and the village merchants. The feeling against foreigners was, in many communities, becoming less pronounced up to the time of the World War. Since then it has been on the increase. Before the War certain nationalities which twenty-five years before had maintained a distinct social configuration had come to share in the social life of the community. This was true, among other nationalities, of the Irish. In many rural villages Catholics no longer had their dances separate from those of Protestants but both attended the same dances. While, in the first period, the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the women's auxiliary of that organization were the centers of the social life of the Irish people, at the time of the World War these Catholic organizations had largely ceased to exist. The change was due to the rise of many Irish families to as high an economic plane as the Protestants and to the fact that, after the second or third generation from the immigrants is reached, the family is quite thoroughly Americanized in speech and manners. The result was a somewhat stronger tendency than formerly for Catholics and Protestants to intermarry. Then came the War and the antagonisms it left in its wake. The recent increase of feeling against foreigners is not due to an increase of foreigners for, at the present time, "most farming communities in New York are made up almost entirely of native-born persons, although in some communities there are many foreign-born persons." "From reports obtained on 3335 New York farms in 1921 by the United States Department of Agriculture and the New York State College of Agriculture, about 88 per cent of the farm operators were natives of New York State, five per cent were natives of other states, and seven per cent were foreign born." [9] In spite of this scarcity of foreign-born among the farming population, the feeling against foreigners, since the War, has increased. The spread of anti-foreign feeling often seems to be most intense where foreigners are most scarce, for, in such a situation, there are few examples of sober and industrious foreigners that belie statements about them to the contrary.

The aversion to foreigners is due to a variety of causes. First, there is the nationality configuration of Americans which shows itself in a pride in being an American, native-born "away back." And

back of that, it must be confessed, there is a pride in having a certain European ancestry—English, Scotch, French, Dutch. There is that much truth in the assertion that even the "American away back" is hyphenated. However, pride in being an American or in something back of that, though it begets some feeling against foreigners as outsiders, was not productive of pronounced feeling against other nationalities until the rise of a generation which was proud of its wealth and which had lost the fellow feeling of worker for worker. These wealthy and proud lived largely in the villages, though some farm women got this attitude from village women. Today among most farmers there is a respect even for Italians or Poles who have made good as dairymen, fruit growers or vegetable growers and who come up to the rural standard of cleanliness and decent rearing of children, though the natives may have little to do with those nationalities. That is, making good in an economic way brings the reaction of the community toward foreigners as well as natives: "He's done well, give him his just deserts." This is in marked contrast to the jealousy and hostility in cities toward certain nationalities because of their economic success. People who live in cities carry this spirit of jealousy into the country when they visit their farmer relatives and talk about foreigners who are making "good money" that Americans ought to have. Of course farmers do not think of themselves as competing with one another, as do the business men and the laborers of a city, and so their attitude to foreigners is not embittered by a feeling against them as competitors. Whenever foreigners seem willing to sell their produce to dealers at a lower price than the American farmer is willing to take and so interfere with efforts for coöperative marketing, then farmers heartily detest them.

Recognizing, then, the rural attitude to accord just recognition of success as a farmer, still there are foreigners who are not successful, according to the American standard. There is also the sense of physical difference and of difference of language, manners and religion. These differences preclude intimate association between foreigners and natives and the latter of course feel the superiority of their own manners and ways. You will also hear farmers give particular reasons for their aversion to foreigners. They cite foreigners who treat their animals brutally, who seem brutal in the way they make their wives and children work, who care nothing about improving the rural school or about any other neighborhood improvement. They often live in an uncleanly home and their children at school are shunned

by other children because of their uncleanliness. Sometimes they are given to petty thieving and the farmer is used to living among neighbors he can trust and so leaves his barn unlocked and his tools lying around. The foreigners are said to be less law-abiding than natives, to be prone to disorderly conduct and to carry concealed weapons. Where one or a few foreigners have stirred the farmer's resentment in any of these ways he will be inclined to feel an aversion toward foreigners in general. Of course the farmer cannot understand the psychology of his reaction. But if you press him to explain it he will reply with a statement which, condensed, is something like this: "Just as the farmer's house is his castle, so that he would resent an outsider's suggesting that he remove his boots in his own sitting room, so he regards the neighborhood in which he resides as his neighborhood and the nation in which he resides as his nation and he resents any foreigner coming in and, by his words or behavior, making his own ideas and ways of doing conspicuous." "Let them learn their place or get out!" is his attitude. Hence the parading of what is "American." That is, the farmer's nationality configuration comes to the fore and he feels a decided reaction against the foreigners as outsiders, especially when there is anything conspicuously different or distasteful in their behavior.

The feeling against foreigners is inadvertently intensified by the rural school teacher. For instance, in the teaching of history she will enlarge on the greatness of Washington or Lincoln and maintain that they are the greatest men that ever lived. Yes, they are greater than the great men of any other nation. The children of foreign descent are inclined to feel just the slightest resentment at this, which increases when the native children, inflated by the superior greatness of their great men, take up the assertion at recess. Essential in the feeling against foreigners is the exaggerated ego of natives, and public education does its part to inflate the ego.

We turn to another antagonism in the rural community, that between farmers and merchants. This is less pronounced than it once was, owing primarily to a change in the attitude of merchants, which in turn is due to incentives to prove the worth of their services to the farmers. One incentive is the necessity of competing with the merchants of the adjacent cities; this competition has become more keen because of the automobile and the trolley. Another is the menace of the coöperative movement. If the farmers have organized for coöperation as producers, may they not organize for coöperation as consumers?

In fact they are already doing so. A third incentive is the increasing competition with mail order houses and with farmers' clubs for buying supplies by mail. A fourth is the competition with the branch stores of great mercantile corporations, which are springing up in the villages. In spite of these new competitive conditions, however, except in certain communities there has been less change in the traditional attitudes of merchants and farmers to one another than might have been expected.[10] The farmers have been wont to characterize the policy of the merchants as "get all you can"; and the merchants have declared that the farmers "get trusted" to the limit at their stores and then spend their spare cash in the stores of the adjacent city or in trade with a mail order house. The traditional antagonism between the farmer and the merchant thus continues in many of the rural communities. Each is moved principally by self-interest. If the merchant is trying to get all he can, the farmer is trying to buy as cheaply as he can. He is quite ready to believe that the merchant is charging exorbitant prices. Here, as in his attitude to the buyer of farm produce, he generalizes hastily, from a few instances. For instance, the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company starts a cash store in a village and sells at lower than the customary prices, which compels other stores to lower their prices on that line of goods. And the farmer remarks: "When they saw they were losing customers they suddenly found they could lower their prices." This instance seems to him to prove that merchants tend to charge higher prices than they should. The farmer has little feeling against big business, either mercantile or manufacturing, as long as it works in the direction of his interests. This antagonism of farmers and rural merchants has engaged the attention of the Farm Bureau. The American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Retail Dry Goods Association have planned the formation of committees, in each rural community, of farmers and retail dealers for a better mutual understanding. This movement has as yet made little progress in New York.

Misunderstanding is one cause of the antagonism. The situation is something like this: "Most farmers in New York do not have enough capital to finance the type of farm business which is best suited to their respective situations. In order to provide the additional funds needed they borrow from various sources. Before specialized agencies for lending money were developed in rural communities, farmers relied very largely upon their local merchants to supply the

needed credit. More recently country banks have become available to all rural communities in the State, but they have been slow to replace the country stores as a direct source of credit for farmers." [11] Furthermore, the stores commonly "pursue a liberal credit policy as a means of increasing the volume of business." [12] "The cost to the stores of furnishing this credit service is equivalent to twice or three times the usual charge for bank loans. The stores borrow from the banks at the same rate as do the farmers, and in addition to the interest which they either pay for borrowed funds or forego on their own capital, they incur many other expenses in giving credit to their customers. The result is that country merchants are compelled to take wider margins and to charge higher prices than they would if they were not called upon to furnish this service." [13] Now, farmers generally do not give the slightest thought to this expense of book credit. They do not consider that a cash store can afford to sell at lower prices than one that gives book credit. The intelligent reaction toward the system would be, not mere grumbling against the merchants but a critical analysis of the system. There is no doubt that it is an expensive system for the farmer, and that it is unjust to those who pay cash, for all alike have to pay the higher prices. "Under the present system the cost of store credit is paid in general by all buyers, including those who do not benefit from this service. A system of adequate discounts for cash should be encouraged, since this is an effective method of assessing the cost of credit against only those who receive it. While a limited amount of store credit may be justified as a convenience in trading, it is an uneconomical source of farm capital." [14] For merchants suffer considerable losses from book credit, owing to the loose way in which it is given and accepted, as compared with bank credit, and those who pay their debts have to pay not only interest for the loan of their goods but also a price sufficient to make good the losses from bad debts. Obviously the merchants of a community should get together and explain the situation to the farmers, and should adopt a sound credit policy and encourage farmers to get their loans at the bank.

Misunderstanding is not the only cause of the antagonism between farmers and merchants. Another is the nature of business. The merchant is seeking, primarily, private profits; not a definite return on his investment and for his services but in addition, an indefinite something which means, practically, all he can make. So the farmer is right as to the motive of the merchant. To be sure, the prices

charged tend to be the customary ones but there is always a tendency to vary in the direction of making a little more. And the farmer, on his part, is trying to make all he can. This includes buying as cheaply as possible, as well as selling his crops at as high a price as possible. Because each knows that his essential motive is profits for himself and not service to the other, it is futile to attempt to make either believe that service is the essential motive of the other. Each knows better for each knows what his own motive is.

These business relations are not of the farmer's or the merchant's own choosing. Self-interest is the traditional business attitude and the farmer and the merchant were born into an economic system the essential relations of which have long been determined by the attitude for private profits. Nevertheless how a farmer or a business man reacts in these relations depends on what dispositions predominate in him. From the beginning farmers have differed in their relations with one another. Some farmers have been characteristically generous in their business dealings with neighbors while others have been self-regarding. In like manner some merchants are characteristically generous in their dealings with customers and in their attitude toward competitors. I have in mind one dry goods merchant who, during the entire first period and well into the second, conducted, with his wife, a dry goods and millinery store in one of the rural villages of the state. Their essential aim was to serve the community. It was because the sympathetic and intellectual dispositions predominated in their characters. Their religion supplied the ideals that nourished the sympathetic and intellectual dispositions in the midst of contrary influences. In their merchandising they studied the real needs as distinguished from the extravagant desires of their patrons. Farmers' wives felt that they could depend on this store for advice as to "how to make their money go the furthest." These merchants really served the needs of the people and the people realized it. The result was that, when a department store of an adjacent city started a branch store in this village with a show window and all the modern attractions, the farmers visited this new store but went to their old store to buy, and the branch store eventually sold out. We conclude that merchants so disposed can make it a point to understand the real needs of their customers, and that a relation of coöperation instead of antagonism can develop. The merchant must take the initiative. It lies with him, primarily, to inaugurate a relation in which service, rather than private profit, shall be brought to the fore.

In certain progressive communities the antagonism between the farmers and the village merchants is diminishing. In one community, farmers of the surrounding country belong to the business men's association of the village and the aim of the association is the promotion of the economic interests of the entire community. The merchants are strong for coöperative marketing for that means a more prosperous farming community and, therefore, better business for the merchants and professional men of the village. These harmonious relations are brought about by some tactful leader who has got the community idea.

On the other hand there are forces making for the preservation of the traditional antagonism. One of these is the fact that city newspapers which are taken throughout the rural districts often stand for individualistic business rather than for coöperation. The farm page of some papers avoids news of coöperative societies, even in regions where these are well developed. Another force that makes for the traditional antagonism is the development of chambers of commerce and trade associations and social clubs that align the village merchant with business men of the cities rather than with the farmer. In the meetings of these associations and clubs the village merchants hear individualistic views of business almost exclusively. Aggressively individualistic business men are likely to be the leaders of these associations and it is their views that are endorsed. Thus village merchants develop a "we-feeling with . . . the merchants of the cities, captained as they are by bankers, wholesalers and manufacturers." [15] Wherefore, while it might be expected that village merchants would have the intelligence to identify their interests with the farmers on whose patronage they are dependent, on the contrary, too often they identify themselves in spirit with outside interests which are prejudiced against farmers' coöperative movements.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF COÖPERATION: THE DAIRYMEN'S LEAGUE

WE are not concerned with the history of farmers cooperation nor with its present extent or forms [1] but with its psychological causes and effects. These are much the same in the coöperative organizations of different industries. In New York, dairying is the most important agricultural industry.[2] New York has the largest number of dairy cows of any state in the Union and the industry extends over the whole state except in certain restricted fruit sections.[3] Wherefore, an analysis of the Dairymen's League Coöperative Association, the largest coöperative association in the state, will serve to elucidate the psychological processes of coöperation.[4]

The topography and soil of a large part of New York make it an ideal dairy country. With the growth of cities dairying developed until, before the end of the first period, it had become the most important agricultural industry in the state. During the second period the demand for raw milk for consumption in the cities greatly increased. "To meet this tremendous demand, the milk-handling facilities have reached out in all directions hundreds of miles along the railroads until milk is now shipped to New York City from the remotest corners of the state, from far into western New York, from the St. Lawrence Valley, from the upper Champlain and even from over the Canadian boundary. . . . Naturally this drift to New York City is deflected around the smaller towns and cities which in their turn are reaching further and further for their supply of raw milk. . . .

"Coincident with this large development of the business in raw milk and cream, there has been a tightening of the sanitary standards under which milk may be made and handled. Such regulations now cover inspection of the barns and cattle, tests of the cattle for tuberculosis, grading of milk, provisions for cooling and pasturization, for types of containers and regulations regarding cleanliness. . . ." [5] The amount of milk produced in the state decreased about twenty-three per cent in the ten years from 1899 to 1909. In the next ten years it increased

slightly. So, while the sale of raw milk increased very much during the second period, the production of butter and cheese decreased.[6] The significance of this change from the use of milk for butter and cheese to its use as fluid milk for the cities lies in this, that the local creameries and cheese factories diminished in number and the farmers became more largely dependent for their market on the companies that buy milk for distribution in the cities. Long before this, in fact during the entire period of expansion, the dairy farmers of the state had been at odds with buyers over the price of milk but the friction was increased by the growth of the fluid milk business.

Until the second period of expansion the farmers were unorganized and dependent on milk companies for marketing their product. The growth of the fluid milk business coupled with the fact that most farmers were limited to one buyer was a situation of which the companies were not slow to take advantage. The situation as the farmers looked at it was expressed by one of the leading farmers of our typical community thus: "The farmers did not have any say as to what they should receive for their milk. The big companies would agree among themselves on the price they would pay producers and on contract day they presented to the farmers their prices for six months. Take it or leave it. Things kept going from bad to worse until something had to be done." This farmer did not have an intimate knowledge of the economic processes that determine prices but one thing he knew, and that was that the milk buyers were organized and the farmers were not.

The farmers had several attitudes that moved them in this situation. One of these was the old resentment felt toward the dealer in farm produce, who profited at their expense. Another was the habit of getting together before a common menace. The companies were disliked as dealers profiting at the farmers' expense and their control of the situation by means of their common understanding made them appear as a common menace. The dominating attitude of the companies—"take it or leave it"—appeared as a sinister influence that was threatening agricultural prosperity. So the old tendency to get together before a neighborhood menace began to move the farmers; and this psychological situation was fertile ground for the suggestions of agricultural leaders as to the benefits of coöperation. The mass of farmers were not moved by the attitudes above referred to in any effective way. They had to be stirred and organized by the leaders. The situation in other agricultural industries differed from that of the

dairy industry in minor points. In the fruit industry there was possibly less resentment against dealers and a somewhat more intelligent comprehension of the short-comings of the old marketing system. In the canning crops industry, on the other hand, resentment was, in certain sections, even more pronounced than in the dairy industry. But in all industries which have developed coöperative societies in New York the psychological forces seen in the dairy industry were active. In order to explain what these are it is necessary first to give a somewhat detailed description of the Dairymen's League.

The Dairymen's League Coöperative Association, Inc.

The Five States Milk Producers' Association referred to in Chapter V never passed entirely out of existence. Eventually it developed into the Dairymen's League, incorporated in 1909 but not made effective as a marketing agency until 1918 when a state law was passed authorizing the creation of agricultural organizations to engage in cooperative marketing.[7] Not until 1921 did the League actually begin operating under its pooling plan. In April, 1923, the League had 950 local associations, 721 of which were in New York. They were found in every county of the state but four—the mountain counties. Local associations existed also in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Vermont.[8] The local associations were united in division districts with a centralized administration in New York City. The League stated its principles of organization as follows: "Absolute farmer control with farmer officers and directors; central control making it possible to concentrate all the strength of this whole organization upon the work which we must accomplish . . . ; under this strong farmer control the best hired expert management that can be obtained, these experts being responsible for their particular jobs to the farmer directors; and last but not least the conducting of the affairs of our great association on fundamental business principles, making available at all times sufficient working capital and keeping adequate reserves for all possible emergencies." [9]

Until the League was organized as an association for coöperative marketing in 1918 it was merely a union of farmers who, through their officials, endeavored to have some voice as to the price at which they would sell their milk. Their only way of enforcing their price was the strike, that is to refuse to sell at a lower price. The League did not have facilities for marketing its product. A strike, therefore,

meant to the farmer the loss of his product. His helpless situation became apparent after the World War when manufacturers of canned milk closed their plants and the demand for milk diminished. The League was then at its wits' end to know what to do with the milk of its members. The outcome was a change of policy whereby the League would not merely have a voice in fixing the price of milk but, when necessary, would itself manufacture and distribute the milk of its members. The farmer who joined the League contracted: (1) to sell his milk to no other agency for the period of the contract; (2) to allow the League to sell the milk of its members as its officials should see fit, to pool the receipts into one fund, and to deduct from this fund whatever was necessary to provide facilities for marketing milk: (3) to accept penalty for failure to deliver milk at such time and place as the League might order.

The purpose of the League is to enable dairymen to realize a higher price for their milk and to have a guaranteed year round market. For this purpose they must cease to compete in selling and organize for the purpose of having a deciding veto on the price offered. But the so-called law of supply and demand determines how much milk consumers will take at a certain price. The policy is to fix the price of fluid milk at a figure somewhat above that at which all the supply would be taken as fluid milk and to manufacture the surplus into milk products. Thus the farmer's coöperative organization must be in a position to handle the surplus which it cannot market at the price fixed for fluid milk.[10] In this matter of the surplus the coöperative society differs from the monopoly which can limit the production of its raw material in accordance with its limitation of the output of the finished product. The farmers' organization cannot do this but must take all the milk offered by the members and dispose of it in some legitimate way. Hence the organization must have facilities for manufacturing the surplus milk into a marketable product. This disposition of the surplus is a problem of coöperative societies generally, wherefore, to be effective, they must have facilities to handle the surplus.[11]

The Dairymen's League sells the greater part of its milk for consumption as fluid milk in the cities. Its aim is to get as high a price as possible without running the risk of bringing in milk from outside its territory in large quantities.[12] If a company will not pay the price which a conference has proved it can pay the League's policy is to equip its own station and handle the milk of members who are dependent on that company. The League does not operate plants except

where dealers will not pay the price or will not handle the milk of League members or where members do not have a market. For the disposition of the surplus it operates over a hundred plants [13] which, in surplus seasons, manufacture butter, cheese, ice-cream, condensed milk, milk powder, casein and other products.[14] Farmers whose milk is disposed of as fluid milk are not paid according to the profits from fluid milk but the entire receipts of the League are pooled and farmers are paid their share of the net income without regard to the use to which their milk is put. Each member of the League has a contract in which he agrees to accept the same price for the same quantity and quality of milk as any other member, with, of course, allowances for freight rates, grade, butter fat and other considerations. He is paid not by the company to which he delivers his milk but from the office of the League to which the companies send payments for milk received.[15]

Because the profits of manufactured milk products are less than the profits of fluid milk, non-poolers, as farmers who will not join the League are called, who sell milk to companies to be sold as fluid milk, are paid directly by the companies and consequently sometimes receive a higher price for their milk than do farmers of the League who take the pooled price. Thus non-poolers profit by the League's practice of manufacturing the milk surplus and so keeping the price of fluid milk somewhat above what it would otherwise be. Now, when we see the erstwhile individualistic farmer taking a temporarily lower price for his milk from his coöperative organization than his non-pooling neighbor receives from the company, when he sticks to his organization at a temporary loss because he see the point, does not this signify a gain in intelligence that means much for the future of coöperation? Time was when a farmer was quick to abandon his enterprise when a neighbor was benefiting by a temporary rise in the price paid by the company. But the League farmer sticks to his organization in spite of this. To be sure there are farmers who withdraw from the League when their contract expires. Individualism is constantly asserting itself.

The Dairymen's League has made itself indispensable to the farmer. In the first place it insures him against various kinds of loss. First, it insures him against loss of a market. For instance, in 1923, inspectors of the New York Board of Health closed a milk station because of the failure of the dealer to observe the sanitary rules.

The farmers who had been delivering there were members of the Non-Pooling Dairymen's Coöperative Association and thus they lost their market. In the same year a milk station burned down during the night. It was a League station and when the farmers arrived next morning they found trucks ready to transport their milk to other stations. So they lost nothing. Second, the League insures farmers against loss due to seasonal and long term fluctuations in production of milk and in business conditions. There is a surplus of milk every spring. The League provides a market for this seasonal surplus when dealers will not do so. This service to the farmer also is a service to the public for the League makes the surplus milk available for public consumption. Also in periods of depression when manufacturers of milk products no longer want the farmer's milk the League will market it. Thus, "In 1920 your coöperative association was operating in a small way, when, on the first day of October of that year, like a clap of thunder out of a clear sky and upon only twenty days' notice practically every condensery in League territory closed its doors . . . 10,000 members of the League were thrown out of a market. . . ." [16] This was before the day of the present efficiently equipped coöperative association, which would have met the situation. Third, the League insures members against loss because of dealers' failure to pay the farmers for their milk. The League has a credit department and may require dealers who deal with League members to give bonds. This keeps losses at a minimum. When losses do occur they are borne by the League as a whole, not by the comparatively few producers who are creditors of a bankrupt dealer. Every year since the formation of the League farmers not members of the League have lost money owed them by dealers who went bankrupt.

In the second place, the League farmer's milk is handled by an organization that commands a world market and which can place the farmer's product where it is most profitable. Because it manufactures many milk products, it can, where there is over-production of one product, divert milk to the manufacture of another. This service to the farmer also is a service to the consuming public for the production of milk is prevented from being diminished by a very low price at one point while prices are too high at another point.

Third, the farmer is no longer subject to the different and more or less arbitrary standards of quality of various dealers but to the uniform standards of a great organization. This service to the farmer

also is a service to the public because the League has adopted and enforced high standards of quality for all its milk products.[17] The public benefit of coöperation is, in this respect, especially noteworthy and it is true of coöperation in other agricultural industries also. The growth of population has necessitated regulation of farm production for the public welfare, but this regulation could not be very efficient as long as farmers were working as unorganized and indifferent individuals. The coöperatve organizations have worked with the regulating agencies for the improvement of the quality of farm products.

Fourth, the farmer is assured of the best price the market will afford. This also is an advantage to the public because the League does not limit the supply of milk; it handles all the milk that its members care to deliver. A rise in price stimulates production. The League reacts to increased production by advertising its products to increase the demand for them.[18] It aims to induce people to consume more milk products, instead of less nourishing and more expensive foods. No more wholesome advertising was ever put forth.

Fifth, through the League the dairy farmers coöperate in getting the legislation necessary to promote the dairy industry. This legislation is important for the public welfare.[19]

Sixth, through their League dairymen are enabled to give publicity to their problems as they could not individually.[20] This is important for the public welfare for only through a knowledge of dairymen's problems can the public regard, without prejudice, measures to promote the dairy industry.

The price received for milk by the farmer has risen since the League became effective. The average farm price of milk for the ten years prior to 1916 was two and seven-tenths cents a quart. The average for June, 1921, to June, 1922, a period of depression in agriculture and in business generally, was three and eight-tenths cents a quart.[21] This price yields no profit, that is, no net income after all expenses are deducted, including interest on the capital invested in the farm and the wages of the farmer. For this reason, as well as because the League is still too recent for farmers to be absolutely certain of its permanency, there seems not to have been, up to 1926, any rise in farm values in anticipation of profitable dairy farming.

The Dairymen's League was the first organization of producers in New York for coöperation on a large scale. Another important cooperative organization is the Western New York Fruit Growers Cooperative Association. The coöperative packing and marketing of

apples began in 1912,[22] just after the Dairymen's League was incorporated. Since then coöperation has been tried in various other agricultural industries with varying degrees of success, and with some conspicuous but not necessarily permanent failures.

CHAPTER XVII

CONDITIONS OF COÖPERATION

THE development of coöperation, which began twenty-five years before among the farmers of New York, was thus finally achieved. Let us note some of the conditions that contributed to this great result. These include the general conditions and the psychological conditions in which we are more particularly interested. As to the general conditions, first, the geographical location, offering fifty million consumers of farm products within a radius of five hundred miles of Syracuse, assured a prosperous future for agriculture if only the farmers were organized. This stimulated the coöperative leaders. Second, while the population was not as homogeneous in nationality and religious affiliation as in Denmark, where coöperation is most advanced, nevertheless, as we have seen, in 1921, 88 per cent of the farm operators were born in New York State, 5 per cent were natives of other states and only 7 per cent were foreign born. Third, over four-fifths of the farmers of New York own their farms. Ownership makes for stability of rural relations, which is essential to coöperation. Fourth, coöperation has been facilitated by the improvement of means of transport, particularly by the auto truck, which has made possible the rapid transportation of farm products from the farms to receiving stations and city markets. Fifth, the isolation of the American farmer, which is one cause of his individualism, has been much diminished by the Ford car. The farmer has been uncertain as to the dependability of other farmers. The more intimate association made possible by the auto has stimulated discussion of coöperation and quickened farmers' understanding of it and has strengthened their conviction of its necessity and made them realize that they thought and felt alike and could rely on each other. Likemindedness thus achieved by means of more intimate association has increased the farmers' sense of solidarity. This has been the effect of coöperation in other parts of the world. Thus it is said of the district and national meetings of the Polish coöperative societies: "Their significance does not lie in the lectures to which the assembly only half listens, nor

even in the decisions of the majority, but in the fact that a mass of peasants come together on one day and feel their solidarity." [1]

We turn to the psychological conditions of coöperation. First there was the sense of need. The farmers of New York were not in as abject need as were the farmers of Denmark,[2] but their need was possibly as keenly felt, because of the comparison of their present need with a more prosperous condition in the past.[3] Second there was the long struggle toward coöperation in New York. Many farmers who were young men when the Five States Association began in the nineties had become convinced that coöperation was the only way through which the farmer could realize his share of the income of the milk industry. It took a long time to convince the individualistic farmer but it seems to have been done. As one of them said in 1923: "Most of us feel that it is better to hang together than to hang separately. It has taken twenty-five years to build up this League. We know the opposition we have had to buck against during those years. Some of the big distributors would like to see the League go to pieces so that they could go back to the old way and dictate to us. I think the success of the League is due to what the farmer feels would happen if the League broke up and we went back to the old way. The pooler and the non-pooler would go down with a thud. We are all hoping that the non-pooler will gradually see the light and help share the expense of taking care of the surplus milk and stop living off the efforts of the Dairymen's League to help dairymen generally." It is a distinct requisite of success of any enterprise that we give men time for the necessary change of attitudes. Attitudes persist in the face of changed conditions with extraordinary tenacity. We have to allow time for the wearing down of attitudes, particularly among a population that has been averse to new ideas. Reluctance to allow the necessary time results in premature attempts at change and in failures that discourage people and retard reform. To be sure certain failures are inevitable before success is finally achieved. Out of the failures of attempts at coöperation a leadership developed. The leaders understood the reasons for the failures and thought they saw how coöperation could be made successful. They believed in coöperation and their constant reiteration of its feasibility helped to convince the rank and file that coöperation was possible. The failures had caused farmers to keep saying dejectedly, "Farmers cannot hang together." The new leadership declared, "Farmers can hang together."

The development of coöperation implies the passing of extreme in-

dividualism, which brings us to a fourth condition. Individualism is the customary viewpoint and the passing of it is due in part to a diminishing tendency to adhere to custom generally. The rural heritage had an attitude against change. This attitude weakened in the first period of expansion and still more in the second, owing to the great change in the relations of the farmer with the outside world, and also to changes in agricultural industry. As an example of the latter, in the dairy industry in 1900 the farmer got up at four o'clock or half-past, did his milking, and spent, possibly, an hour and a half taking the milk to the station. A few years later he got up at five or half-past and took the milk to the station in his auto truck in half an hour. He got more milk with less cows; had cement cow stables instead of the rough, wooden ones; kept them clean. The milk cans were sterilized at the station and there was a convenient and sanitary milk house and ice-house adjoining the farmer's barn. This transformation of the equipment of the dairy industry in the short space of fifteen years disposed the young farmer to laugh at the old ways. He had an attitude for new ways, instead of against new ways. Twenty years ago, the milk company was just beginning to force these new ways on the farmers, by its regulations concerning barns and animals which the farmers must observe as a condition of their milk being accepted by the company. The company inspected the barns and animals and the farmer's plant had to pass inspection. He "kicked" against having to make the improvements because of the "bother" and expense. His attitude was to continue in the old ways and to laugh at every "new fangled notion" of the company. Now he sees the advantage of the new ways and his attitude is to laugh at the dirty old barns, the scrub bulls and "moss back" cows that farmers used to keep. Thus adherence to custom was weakened by the forced changes in the methods of producing milk; and this greater readiness to change old ways facilitated the development of coöperation in selling milk. The farmer has become accustomed to the idea of the need of clean milk, to the idea of different grades of milk, to the idea of testing for quality, to the idea of eliminating cows of low productivity, in short to a great variety of ideas that must have been accepted and regarded as settled before he was competent steadfastly to support his great coöperative organization.

Since 1900 the weakening of adherence to custom, which we noted in Part I, has gone on apace and has become noticeable in agricultural populations all over the world. To be sure individualism persists, as

will be noted in the succeeding chapter. But farmers adopt new methods more readily than is generally thought, and this is true even of the most backward agricultural populations, for instance, of the rural population of India. "The rapidity with which ploughs have been adopted makes it clear that the Deccan cultivators are by no means slow to adopt improvements and make innovations when they see advantage in doing so. The idea of the extreme conservatism of the people is, we are convinced, a myth." [4]

Another condition of coöperation was the influence of successful cooperative enterprises in other parts of the country.[5] There was also the indisputable fact that employers were getting together to control the prices of what the farmer must buy and the prices of what he had to sell. The farmers' leaders have flaunted organized employers and monopoly prices, organized labor and high wages before the farmers in order to goad them to imitate this general tendency to organization. For instance, here are some sentences from the address which called forth the most enthusiastic applause at the annual convention of the Dairymen's League in 1923: "All the industries are raising the prices of their commodities. Everything is up because they are organized to keep it up. Organized labor has simply soared so that it is beyond the possible approach of the dairyman of this country." [6] Organized labor is supposed to be a class socially below the farmers; even this lower class has passed the farmer in the race for income, so it is said, and has done it through organization. Such sallies arouse farmers. They cannot but feel that owners of farms are in a much stronger position to deal successfully with capitalistic interests than are factory workmen,[7] and that it is a shame for them not to make the most of this advantage. As a matter of fact it is the organization of employers that has forced the extended organization of labor of recent years.[8] And it is the organization of milk dealers that has forced the organization of dairymen. Thousands of dairymen in New York were limited to one buyer and that a great corporation extending over several states. So the logic of the situation seemed to be to meet the combined strength of the buyers with the combined strength of the producers.

The essential principle of organized labor and of coöperative marketing is the same, namely, the principle of collective bargaining. However, this fact has not yet appreciably diminished the attitude of intolerance toward organized labor that prevails in the rural districts. Nevertheless, the American Farm Bureau Federation has, as one of the main points of its program, "to establish without question the legality

of collective bargaining."[9] This new principle is contrary to the traditional individualism of the American farmer. When the American manufacturer calls the open shop the "American plan," the phrase has a deep psychological significance. It means that he is moved by the individualistic viewpoint that has traditionally characterized the American farmer. He ignores the new industrial conditions in which the "American plan" is out of date. The progressive farmer has found that it is out of date in his relations with dealers in produce, and the workman has found that it is out of date in his relations with employers.

Finally, coöperation is the culmination of the farmer's long grievance against the dealer in farm produce. This resentment did not affect the rank and file of farmers until the rise of the coöperative movement. Farmers are intent on the production of a crop and are not given to jealousy except toward the neighbors they happen to regard as rivals. Farmers have seemed to distrust each other more than they distrusted dealers, and this has made coöperation very difficult. The dealer was likely to be a man pleasant to meet and the farmer regarded him as a man of superior ability. When a coöperative project began to be talked about many farmers appeared more anxious about the dealers' welfare than about that of their own wives slaving on the farm to help them make a mere living. As distinguished from this attitude of the rank and file, the more enterprising farmers were unable to reconcile the allegation that agriculture is the basic industry with the fact that those engaged in it hardly made a living while dealers in farm produce lived in fine houses, had automobiles and apparently had plenty of leisure for driving around while the farmer was toiling in the fields. The farmer, unless he has himself been a dealer, does not know just how the dealer makes his money. But he does know certain instances in which a dealer has "made a good thing." The farmer, like everybody else, is impressed with the conspicuous instance. A system in which a dealer who does little hard work and risks little makes more money than the hard-working and risk-taking producer is to him wrong. So he has a grievance, not against any particular dealer but against the symbolic "middleman."

His discontent is not due to jealousy. In a way he admires a man who can make more money by a simple transaction than the farmer can make in months of toil. He has an exaggerated idea of the dealer's intelligence, also of his profits. The dealer's financial success makes farmers feel small, insignificant, makes farming seem futile, hayseed

business. This is not the way the farmer felt in the early days. He then felt he was master of the situation. The new feeling is a result of the extension of the market, of the rise of groups that intervene between producer and consumer and use their strategic positions in their own interest. So discontent is not due to jealousy but to a sense of injustice. Even the farmer who is himself sometimes subject to jealousy is quick to discountenance any such behavior in others. He never would take seriously an organized movement the mainspring of which he felt to be jealousy. He is convinced that his coöperative movement is not a jealous manifestation against any group or class but a movement for justice, which will be approved, as soon as it is understood, by all except the interests that are intent on profiting at the farmer's expense.

In addition to the processes in the resentment against middlemen above analyzed there is another which has had some play. We find among farmers the same tendency found in every class of people in every nation all over the world, that is, the tendency to "lay the blame" for evil conditions, the causes of which are not understood, on some conspicuous figure or group who is or which is for some reason distrusted. So the ignorant natives of Mexico regard the presence of a Protestant missionary as the cause of a destructive drought; so-called "educated" university graduates ascribe the unrest in China and other countries to the machinations of Bolshevists; and some farmers ascribe various unfavorable conditions to the machinations of "middlemen." In each case the cause of the reaction is ignorance. Unfortunately the tendency is to react to ignorance more positively than to knowledge and insight, and this reaction concentrates on some figure or group that has become symbolic of hostility. A part of the farmers' resentment toward middlemen springs from this psychological situation. But, as said above, this is not the sole or the chief element in the farmer's resentment.

The antagonistic attitude to middlemen in general has been accentuated, in many cases, by a decided distrust of particular dealers. The farmer is more intelligent than he used to be. He has better facilities for getting information and for some time he has been looking askance at the unaccountably large margin between farm prices and retail prices. Dealers ignore the farmers questioning attitude except when explanations seem necessary and then explain with a half truth calculated to produce the impression desired. The farmer often seems to accept what the dealer says, wherefore the latter thinks he has made

the desired impression when, as a matter of fact, the question mark in the farmer's mind is somewhat more pronounced than before. There is the beginning of a distrust of the dealer which subsequent similar experiences confirm. Also various practices of dealers have resulted in an accumulation of resentments. This is a well known process of the psychology of resistance.[10] It is conspicuous also in the development of organizations of workmen in cities.[11]

The development of the coöperative viewpoint among farmers does not signify any radical change in rural attitudes. It means merely that farmers have come to realize that each is powerless unless he acts with others. Action is still from self-interest. In joining the coöperative society the farmer is not seeking to benefit other farmers but to benefit himself. He realizes that his interests and those of dealers in produce are antagonistic while those of producers are identical. It is the distrust of the powerful dealer, and the sense of the injustice of dealers profiting at the farmers' expense that causes them to stick together. So economic coöperation is merely a result of defensive self-interest. But getting together in an economic project makes possible a feeling of being shoulder to shoulder in a great movement. It may result in an increase of sympathy and an inclination toward worth while community projects.

However, coöperation thus far is still narrowly limited. It has not gone very deep so that individualism still weakens the economic cooperation. When a narrow self-interest is the ultimate motive, joint action depends on the dictates of self-interest. Members of the Dairymen's League are constantly tempted not to renew their contract with the League. By withdrawing they would enjoy the temporary advantage of the non-pooler. In 1923 over 10,000 of the members failed to renew their contracts.[12] The interests opposed to the League distributed misleading publications among the members.[13] It is easy to suggest aspects of the policies of the League that stir distrust and cause an impulse to throw up the contract and enjoy the non-pooler's advantage. Consequently the great requisite is an education that shall enlist dispositions that oppose quick distrust and make for understanding and solidarity.

In this critical period of transition from the individualistic to a real coöperative viewpoint, one of the great sources of strength of a coöperative organization is a large membership. Take the Dairymen's League. Of the 85,000 farms in New York that delivered milk to milk plants, 51,493 were contract signers of the League. In addition the contract

signers outside New York brought the membership up to about 65,000.[14] The thought that nearly 65,000 dairymen are members of the League impresses the farmer. He is thrilled to feel himself a part of that great, irresistible force. This disposes him to submit to its regulations, even to reductions in the price of milk, as he would not, perhaps, if it were a small, local organization. So the bigness of the organization is emphasized at its meetings. At the annual meeting in June, 1922, two thousand dairymen listened to their president tell his audience that the "total volume of business during the fiscal year just ended amounted to $62,000,000. The business conducted by this Association represents a large share of the farmers' coöperative selling efforts of the whole United States. . . .

"You men, acting together through the means of your marketing association, have sold fluid milk and its products to an extent of 2,565,000,000 pounds, which, if put into quart bottles and placed end to end, would reach seven times around the entire earth, or if put into forty-quart cans and placed in railroad cars would form a solid train, reaching from Boston to Milwaukee.[15] In the annual meeting of 1923, the potential strength of all dairymen if united in one great organization was visualized in this way: "I am going to give you a picture of the dairy business. . . . Do you know that if I took the dairymen of this country and stood them side by side they would represent a column five deep all the way from New York to San Francisco. Think of that unit of labor, a column of patient, deserving, conscientious, resolute men and women, five deep from New York to San Francisco, on the march and in the line of duty, the greatest manufacturing industry in the world, and yet if that line of men and women were to stop and halt in their tracks for six months in any of God's summers, you would bring the human race to its knees for food; and you go on and on in those ranks." [16]

The Dairymen's League endeavors to maintain and extend its hold on the farmers through the personal influence of its leadership and by education. First, as to the influence of leadership. Two conditions have made farmers more susceptible to influence than in the past. One is the increasing complexity of their problems and the other is their more intimate association. Their complex problems incline them to follow those in whose judgment they have confidence. The trolley lines and the automobile enable them to assemble to hear their leaders speak. The locals of the Dairymen's League hold meetings in the trading centers of the various communities and, once a year, the entire League

holds a convention. Thus the League aims to center the movement around its leaders. The League supplements personal influence with a program of education. Its officials declare that the main problem of the League is an educational one. It must educate its members in order to hold them in the League; must educate non-poolers in order to win them; and must educate the public. The education is carried on chiefly in the columns of the *Dairymen's League News*, published weekly, which goes to every member of the League.[17] In this magazine the leaders of the League are constantly debating with the members the problems of the organization;[18] and in addition to this they discuss every aspect of the dairy business, and describe coöperative enterprises in various parts of the world.[19] As one reads an issue of this magazine and realizes how the new ideas are playing on the farmers' minds, weekly through the long winter months—ideas intimately connected with their vital interests—one realizes that the extreme mental isolation of the farmer is a thing of the past.

Another means of education was the League's motion picture, which, in 1923, was shown throughout League territory. It portrayed the plants of the League, the processes and products of the plants, and gave a graphic representation of conditions that had been remedied by co-operation. It was estimated that in three months the picture was viewed by 50,000 people. In addition to these exhibits in the motion picture theatres of the villages, the picture was carried, by means of automobile generating equipment and projector, into sections remote from village picture theatres and there exhibited in the barns of the farmers.[20]

One of the psychological forces that has stimulated the growth of the League is the opposition it has encountered from milk companies and from the non-pooling coöperative association of dairy farmers. The notable victories of the League over its enemies, particularly its success in handling the milk of producers whose milk dealers refused to take because the producers were members of the League, are achievements which have thrilled the membership of the League and stimulated faith in its future.[21] The speakers at the annual convention keep the hostile agencies before the farmers and so stimulate their loyalty to the League. Here is a reference to the dealers: "May I discuss with you for a few moments some of the obstacles that your organization had to meet during the last fiscal year? On the first day of April, 1922, your association received a blow that would have shattered a weak organization. Buyers who theretofore had been buying over a million pounds of milk

a day, apparently by concerted effort boycotted your organization and refused to buy." "The production department was called upon to divert and handle, through its own operation, a million pounds a day more milk on April 1, than was handled on March 31, or very nearly twice as much. To accomplish this new plants were opened over night, some plants which had been closed were reopened, manufacturing plants were called upon to perform almost the impossible, in order to handle quantities of milk far beyond their normal capacity. When it is considered that in addition to the operations then established, it was necessary to open, equip, and man forty-five new plants in the month of April, one gets some idea of the tremendous task involved." [22] The hostility of dealers has had a similar effect on coöperation in the fruit industry. There, dealers who were being supplanted by the fruit growers' coöperative aimed to influence wholesale fruit merchants in cities not to trade with their coöperative rivals or to trade only on terms that were disadvantageous to them. This hostility of dealers only strengthened the resolution of the coöperating farmers. The significance of this conflict between coöperative farmers and dealers will be further explained in the last chapter of this book.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PERSISTENCE OF INDIVIDUALISM

THE achievement of coöperation has not taken place without bitter opposition on the part both of buyers of farm produce and of individualistic farmers. In some cases buyers organized a certain section of the farmers against the coöperative organization; in other cases the opposing group was organized by the farmers themselves under the encouragement of interested parties. Even farmers who joined a coöperative organization were pessimistic as to the benefits of coöperation and stubborn in their pessimism. Farmers often show conspicuous initiative in their farm work and then lapse into pessimism when the subject of marketing is brought forward. Their essential configuration, as pointed out in Chapter I, is the physical configuration, so their interest is in production, not in selling. In every agricultural industry in which a coöperative organization has been formed, a considerable proportion of farmers have refused to join the organization even after it proved successful; and many of those who were members continued to be "set against" their own organization, to make much of its defects and to depreciate its future. The persistence of individualism is, therefore, an obstacle yet to be overcome.

Extreme individualism causes an averseness to any coöperation at all. Distinct from this is the effect of individualistic attitudes in the formation of plans for coöperation. Many New York farmers profess to stand for coöperation but with an individualistic averseness to the centralized administration of a coöperative enterprise which is essential to its success. Among the best documentary sources for a study of the effect of individualistic attitudes on opinions as to cooperation are the files of *The Non-Pooler*—the organ of the dairy farmers who are organized to oppose the Dairymen's League. But thousands of other farmers take the same attitude. Now while the effect of mistaken individualistic attitudes on thinking is to be deplored, we must bear in mind that these attitudes are still essential in rural civilization. The farmer will never cease to need self-reliance, thrift, self-restraint and other attitudes of our rural heritage. Agencies that foster these

virtues are doing an immense service, but it is inevitable that men who feel intensely these individualistic sentiments should sometimes inadvertently let their thinking be determined by them in situations that call for different premises, and one such situation is the present marketing situation. The self-reliant and thrifty farmer is powerless when it comes to marketing his crop. He may realize this but in thinking on the coöperative schemes that are proposed he may let individualistic attitudes so dominate him that his thinking is futile. The result is, that, though committed to coöperation, the only cooperative scheme to which he will consent is the impracticable scheme of the individualist. Writers in rural magazines may make the same mistake. They may not oppose coöperation but their individualistic attitudes may beget a distrust of a centralized coöperative organization which, under the existing conditions, is the only type that can succeed. The scheme which they favor is calculated to give the members of the coöperative society a maximum of control over its officers, a control which they are incapable of exercising intelligently. As an example of a scheme of this kind we quote the following: "The economic salvation of the dairy farmer in the New York milk shed is the democratic form of organized coöperation. It is not necessary that this organization include every dairyman. . . . It is necessary that it embrace a major part of the producers and of the product; and, if it is properly organized for the exclusive good of its members, it will embrace substantially all of the producers and all of the product. You could not keep dairymen out of a real dairy coöperative association with a big stick.

"The coöperative dairy association for the New York territory with its 194,000 dairymen must be organized with every possible precaution to win and hold and merit the confidence of dairymen. Any suspicion of craft or want of candor will be fatal. Any opportunity for selfishness or group advantage will destroy its chance of success. It must provide for absolute control of management and policies and finances by a majority vote of its members. A mere appearance of majority control will not do." [1] That is, the coöperative organization, instead of being an organization of farmers coöperating under the effective, centralized administration of experts and leaving management, policies and finances to experts, is to be an organization of individuals in which every one of 194,000 farmers is to have his say on questions of management, policies and finances that he knows nothing about and the majority are to determine these matters. The plain impossibility of

such a scheme shows how powerfully deep-seated individualistic attitudes can stir the mind before a situation that requires the most penetrating analysis. The scheme above outlined is an idealization of democratic management which, under existing conditions, seems more of a Utopia than a practicable proposition. However, such idealizations do stimulate a critical attitude toward the autocratic trend of economic organization,[2] and it may be that farmers will some day be well enough educated to develop a really democratic economic organization. As it is, their organization must be a great competitive machine functioning in a capitalistic state and run by trained engineers while the rank and file are merely passengers being carried to a destination of greater prosperity. Their coöperative papers tell them a little about the trip but do not fit them to run the engine.

The conception of ideas as a functioning of deep-seated attitudes is one with which those who have read *Our Rural Heritage* are already familiar. We there described the attitudes that express themselves in rural sentiments and ideas and we noted the conditions that produced the attitudes that have given farmers their individualistic frame of mind. Among these were their dependence on uncertain weather for their own personal comfort and for the fruition of their crops; their isolation; their independence because of their ownership of land and other instruments of production; the necessity of initiative in planning their work and putting through their plans; the confining nature of the farmer's occupation. Let us note the effect on individualism of each of these conditions.

The attitude to the uncertain weather was one of the attitudes of the nature configuration. As a result of the uncertainty of the weather there has been an inclination to think lightly of the value of scientific knowledge because certain knowledge has seemed impossible in the face of the uncertainty of the seasons. So one man's opinion, provided he was a man of experience, has seemed as good as another's. Hence the inclination to follow one's own ideas and to accord every man liberty to do the same. In these latter years verified knowledge has won more respect, for the progress of scientific agriculture has enabled farmers in some degree to "get the best of the seasons." However, the cocksureness that features the individualistic attitude still persists. The interest of the farmer in the uncertain seasons and in the weather from day to day, his exposure to the weather while he works, the solitude in which he does much of his work, in short his dependence

on nature and his life close to nature are conditions that make individualism inevitably more characteristic of farmers than of men in other occupations.

The farmer has lived a more isolated life than men in other occupations. Families often lived at some distance from any other family, and a long distance, at least with the old horse and buggy, from railroad or trolley station. This meant extreme isolation, until these latter days of the rural mail service, good roads and the automobile. Even with these improvements the farmer does not have that constant contact with people outside the family that village and city people have. In this respect the American farmer is at a disadvantage as compared with the German and Danish farmers who live in villages. "The German farmers—the small land-owning peasants—do not have to bother about getting together. They are together already, have been together during a thousand years of history. Their children play together, sing together in the village schools. . . . They come to know one another through and through. They know after awhile who among them has the grace and grit to stick tight in a farm organization —say, in a coöperative credit union, a type of organization that exists in almost every farm village in Germany." [3] "The Danish farmers live in communities, not quite as compact as in Middle and South Germany, but they live together, play together, and work together. The consequence is that their outlook on life is social and coöperative instead of individual and competitive, as in the sparsely settled regions of America." [4]

An isolated situation fosters individualism especially when the farmer owns his own farm. This is not saying that farm ownership is less favorable to coöperation than farm tenancy. Tenancy takes out of farmers the enterprise that is necessary to enlist them in a cooperative movement and the reliability that is required in the members of a coöperative organization.[5] But mere ownership does not incite to coöperation. On the contrary it may foster individualism if farmers live isolated lives. The old attitude of independence, due to isolation and independent ownership, persists in spite of the changed conditions that make marketing a vital part of the farmer's business.

The farmer always has been dependent on his own initiative for the planning of his work and the putting through of his plans. He is not dependent on a boss who gives the directions. He must be his own boss. This, with the necessity of constant, and often of extreme

physical exertion that has characterized farming until recently has made the farmer a choleric individualist. This individualism has been confirmed by the confining nature of his occupation. Most farmers in New York keep some live stock, which requires feeding and attention every day. The result is that the farmer finds it difficult to get away from his work. He continues in the same routine day after day, year after year, and so remains set in his individualism.

So much for the conditions of individualism. Now as to the thing itself. The only way to understand it is to get into touch with a coöperative enterprise and watch it develop, then encounter unforeseen obstacles and begin to lose its membership. In such an experiment one discerns at least three types of farmers. First, there is the rank and file moved by the traditional rural attitudes, who think they will always be farmers in spite of everything that can be done; that they are producers of crops and lack business shrewdness; that for this reason, they always have got the little end of the bargain and always will. Grumbling and self-pity are alike ineffective and so they remain a futile, unorganized mass. They have the nature configuration predominant, as among the early farmers. When the coöperative leader comes along and explains that, if only the farmers will unite, this and this can be done, they exclaim, "But will they!" and shake their heads hopelessly. The second type of farmer is more ambitious than the first. He is a man of stronger impulses, more eager to make money, more rivalrous and intent on social recognition of superiority. He has been touched by village and city influences to the extent of quickening certain social dispositions, as rivalry. So his nature configuration is less predominant in his behavior than in the first type. He knows about the profits of the buyer of produce, feels these are made at the expense of the farmer and, when the coöperative enterprise is brought to his attention, thinks it is a great thing. The third type of farmer is one of constructive mind, which makes him a leader in his community. He has the feeling of the second type that the profits of the dealer cannot be justified but he is not merely impulsive. He is a man of vision. He not only senses the possibilities of coöperation but grasps the essential conditions of its success in his particular community and his great aim is to do his best to put it through.

When a coöperative enterprise is started a good many of the first named type are persuaded to join the movement. They come in "just to try it," not to contribute anything in enthusiasm or any more money than the minimum required. The second named type come in with

big expectations of increased income, of "showing the dealer," and of recognition for themselves. Before long, obstacles begin to arise. The overhead expenses are greater than expected. The market is more difficult to reach than anticipated. In some unaccountable way the dealers seem to know all about the particular dealings of the coöperative organization with the companies in the cities and to be able to circumvent it. Members of the organization find they can make more money by selling to dealers than through their own organization. This proves to the first type of farmer that coöperation is a failure and they begin to withdraw from their organization. Farmers of the second type, also, are disappointed in their expectations of income. Then, too, some of them are annoyed because they do not get the attention they think is due them in the deliberations of the organization. Their superiority is not recognized. Naturally the men of constructive mind are the acknowledged leaders and are more listened to than merely impulsive men. So this second type begins to withdraw. Those who withdraw are termed selfish by the constructive leaders. "Stick to it and make it succeed" is their impulse. The preservation of the society now depends on how many members the leaders can persuade to stick.

What is this selfishness that begins to appear and to threaten the organization? If those who withdraw were farsighted enough, they could see that their own personal interest in the long run would be served by striking. Is unselfishness, then, mere farsightedness as to what constitutes a selfish interest? The answer lies in a study of the constructive leaders who stick and hold others by their influence. One finds on intimate acquaintance with such men that their essential motive is not greater income, or social recognition. Consequently, they are not annoyed to the point of leaving the organization if these satisfactions are not forth-coming. Their essential motive is to bring into practical operation for the good of many people a constructive program that has caught their imagination. They are men of constructive imagination. Their unselfishness lies in the fact that they are intent on something that will advance the well-being of many farmers. They have an attitude of self-help. They will tell you, "I don't think we farmers ought to be looking to the government for help as a class. I think we should help ourselves. Helping us will make us still more helpless. We need to begin by helping ourselves and when we find that, in defending ourselves against injustices, we need certain laws, of course we shall get them."

We have distinguished three types of farmers: those characterized by the nature configuration and hopeless of ever being anything different; those moved by rivalry and so not to be depended on in a crisis; those of constructive imagination and practical sagacity. The sagacity of this third type involves an understanding of the attitudes of the other types whereby they can effectively appeal to men thus constituted to stick to their coöperative organization. Farmers, like other men, often are moved, in a crisis, by contrary attitudes. For instance, two contrary attitudes that asserted themselves in the crisis of the coöperative organization were honor and the attitude cleverly to get the best of a neighbor. Honor impelled a man to stand by his neighbors and friends in the organization, while the equally strong attitude to get the best of neighbors impelled a farmer to take advantage of some clause in the agreement that enabled him to withdraw and get the best of a neighbor by leaving him to bear the load. Or the attitude to get the best of a neighbor impelled a farmer to sell his produce to a dealer who offered more at the time than the coöperative organization could pay and so get a higher price than a neighbor who stuck to the organization. The leaders of the organization must know how to appeal to the honor attitude and so inhibit the one contrary to it.

Again, two contrary attitudes were the self-centered attitude and the attitude for the good will of one's neighbors. It is significant that the most common line of argument of the coöperative leader is the appeal to the self-centered attitude. That is, he seldom or never tells a man that he should think of the welfare of his neighbors who have joined the coöperative enterprise with him, that for their sakes and because he values their good will he should not desert them. He tells the farmer that coöperation is for his own interest, on the whole and in the long run. The leader knows that the self-centered attitude is far and away the most pronounced, and that if he can make the organization appeal in that light, he will be making his strongest argument.

As one follows the coöperative leader about his work, one is impressed with the similarity of his frame of mind to that of the parent who does not give his children what they impulsively want but is intent on making them see what they ought to want. This is love in its highest form of understanding sympathy. This is the attitude of the finest type of parent, of the finest type of clergyman who takes not only a kindly but an intelligent and effective interest in his people, of the finest type of teacher, who has not merely a companionable but an understanding interest in his or her pupils, and of the finest type of

rural leader. It is the attitude of the sympathetic and constructive mind applied to the problems of the family, the church, the school, the coöperative society.

The persistence of individualism cannot be understood without considering that farmers are a product of the attitudes of our rural heritage. These attitudes have passed down from father to son. Now attitudes act, not necessarily contrary to reason but as a substitute for it and often contrary to it. That is, a situation arouses the attitudes that it has customarily aroused. The situation may have changed a good deal but the changes do not arrest the attention and stimulate analysis. It is reacted to as unchanged, according to the customary attitudes. Even when a situation is seen to have changed, deficiency in analysis results in a continuation of more or less futile reactions according to the customary attitudes. This is the process of thought of many farmers with regard to the marketing of farm produce. The extension of markets has changed the marketing situation but they lack the power to grasp the new situation and so their old attitudes determine their reaction to projects for coöperative marketing. As we have seen, their individualism inclines them to oppose coöperation or, while not opposing it to depreciate it, or to develop impossible coöperative schemes.

Reaction according to attitudes makes effective coöperation difficult because it prompts the farmer to be more interested in the attitudes of the leaders of an enterprise than in the features of the enterprise and this interest in leaders is less in their general competence than in certain traits which stir liking or dislike. Now liking or dislike depends on whether certain attitudes of the leaders in question are in accord with or contrary to the attitudes of farmers. Thus it is that when you come to initiate a coöperative enterprise, you find that farmers have little interest in understanding the enterprise in its broad outlines and prospective working as compared with their interest in its leaders, particularly in characteristics valued because of their own attitudes, not in characteristics that may be much more necessary for the success of the enterprise.

Individualism means, then, the thrusting forward of the attitudes of a bygone age into new situations to which they do not apply. This thrusting forward of attitudes is seen in connection with practically every problem that becomes important enough to interest the farmer and call forth an opinion. As one instance, farmers quite generally are prejudiced against labor unions, in spite of the fact that the labor

union and the farmer's coöperative organization are founded on the same principle, that of collective bargaining. Farmers do not realize this, and they know nothing about the situation before a mass of factory workmen, nothing about the principles and policies of labor unions. They oppose labor unions because of their attitude to their own farm labor and because certain superficial aspects of unions strike other attitudes of theirs unfavorably. As to their attitude to farm labor, farmers have worked their men long hours and have sought to get all the work they could out of them and still keep their relations amicable. But farm laborers have been getting more and more independent, and the practice of soldiering on the job is well developed among them. The farmer thinks workmen generally aim to do as little as possible and that the labor union is an organization to enable them to combine to do as little as possible and to get as high pay as possible. He seizes on bits of news in the papers and other gossip that seem to prove this opinion true. His prejudice is deepseated because this supposed tendency of labor unions is contrary to certain deepseated attitudes of our rural heritage. If labor unions enable men to do as little as possible, this is contrary to the farmer's attitude of industriousness. If they stand for a uniform wage regardless of efficiency, this is contrary to his attitude for reward according to effort. He hears that unions support their members in idleness during a strike—another count against them from the standpoint of industriousness. He hears that unions dictate the terms of employment to employers—a count against them from the standpoint of the rural attitude of independence. Thus opinions about organized labor are formed, not from any thoughtful study of the policies and activities of organized labor, for the farmer will not read books, but from scattered bits of information and hearsay, interpreted according to his attitudes.

The persistence of individualism is, therefore, an expression of a psychological tendency of fundamental importance. This is the tendency of attitudes to thrust themselves into situations to which they no longer apply because the situations have changed. To be sure, individualistic attitudes are still adaptive to a certain extent. The farmer is independent, works alone, and must have initiative to be successful. A robust sense of independence, self-reliance, self-restraint are by no means out of date on the farm or anywhere else. These attitudes adapt the farmer to his environment. But they do not adapt him as entirely as formerly. They do not even adapt him to successful production. Cocksureness is not consonant with scientific farming.

Still less do they adapt him to profitable marketing. New situations require something besides a mere thrusting forward of attitudes. New situations result in maladjustment and agitation and the farmers get wrought up. But progress requires something besides merely getting wrought up against the old system. It requires some capacity to move along with the minds of leaders toward solutions. Because conditions are more complex and more subject to change than in the past, mere reaction according to attitudes will not adjust the farmer to his environment as in the past.

CHAPTER XIX

WHAT IS COÖPERATION?

THE analyses of the preceding chapters have given evidence of a deep-seated change in the psychology of the farmer. We saw, in Chapter I, that the early farmer was moved by a nature configuration, of which one of the essential attitudes was free enterprise; and, in Chapter XVIII, that this configuration still characterizes farmers, that they think of themselves as cultivators of the soil who never will be anything else, and that consequently they always have got the little end of the bargain in dealing with business men, and always will. We have also seen that while farmers will continue to be, primarily, producers, the nature configuration is waning in importance among large sections of them and they are becoming conscious of the fact that as a group in a given agricultural industry of a given section of the country they must "get together." This is a new class configuration. Where coöperation has really developed, farmers are no longer conscious of free enterprise—"every man for himself and the devil take the hindermost"—as an essential attitude, but of their purpose to "get together and keep together." That is, farmers as a class are developing a social configuration, instead of being characterized primarily by a nature configuration with the negatively social attitude of free enterprise.

The farmers of a coöperative enterprise are organized in locals that are co-extensive with the rural communities in which they lie. Cooperation is very significant in that it is the most effective movement that has yet developed for the promotion of projects that make for the development of leadership in the rural community. The importance of the Dairymen's League in this connection was described in Chapter III, and other coöperative organizations are equally important. Once a farmer finds himself a local leader in his coöperative and he is inclined to lead in other lines; it is this development of leadership in a community more than any other one condition that "puts the community on the map." In exactly the same way the development of farmer leaders of the great coöperatives has put the farmers as a

class on the map. For instance, the dairy farmers of the state were an obscure horde of patient toilers who "bagged the mullies" early and late without public recognition until the Dairymen's League organized them into a definite economic group. Then the politicians and the press "sat up and took notice." The farmer leaders did it. And the leadership of the organization remains entirely in the hands of farmers. All the officers and the twenty-four directors of the central administration of the Dairymen's League must be milk producers. Says one of the League leaders: "These men from the farm have learned to run a concern which is doing over $75,000,000 business a year. Is not this a wonderful thing for farmers? The officers rub shoulders every day with other men in big business. They are learning big business themselves. Ten years ago people would have laughed at the idea of farmers going to New York and organizing a concern doing a business of $75,000,000 a year. It is a new type of leadership."

Not only the leaders but the rank and file of members of the League have to learn to do business. They have to learn to make a contract and to observe all the conditions of the contract as to quality of milk to be delivered, time of delivery and so on." Not since the old rural neighborhood with its coöperative features broke up has the farmer been so stabilized in his economic relations and not since then has his morality been so tempered by a sense of social responsibility as by his membership in his coöperative. The break-up of morality that became noticeable in the first period of expansion, as described in Chapter IX, seems to have been arrested by the development of the coöperatives and a new morality to be in process of formation.

As indicated in the preceding chapter, however, individualism persists. Farmers join a coöperative and then "stand off and criticise." They criticise from the point of view of their individualistic attitudes, not with understanding.[1] Many farmers take just enough interest in their coöperative to hit upon something that seems to them unfair, extravagant or to imply that somebody is profiting at their expense and they harp on this apparent defect, without taking enough interest really to understand their coöperative at all. They do not take the interest that comes of a whole-hearted sense of personal responsibility for its success. As one of our ablest rural leaders well says, farmers must "look at their coöperatives as a part of their marketing equipment just as they do their plows and harrows as a part of their production equipment; . . . We don't buy cows and entrust their feeding and care to

others without oversight and interest; why should we take a share in a coöperative enterprise and leave it entirely to others to look after?" [2]

We see why it is that, as said in a preceding chapter, all that the rank and file of farmers can do under present conditions is to be carried by their organization to a destination of greater prosperity; it is because they lack the intelligence and the inclination to understand their organization and have an intelligent part in its activities. That is the reason for the autocratic trend in economic organization generally. The stockholders of corporations are merely holders of certificates looking for dividends. Consequently the management of a corporation is autocratic so far as both stockholders and workmen are concerned. The workmen may not be as indifferent as the stockholders, but the conventional labor union policies stop short of any effective participation in management. So workmen and benevolent stockholders have what Dr. Kallen calls compensating ideas,[3] that is, sentimental ideas about industrial democracy that satisfy their feelings before a situation that seems to offer no practicable solution. And so, of course we have industrial autocracy. Just as in the state, under any form of government, even under our republican government, we have political autocracy—boss-rule—where the people take no intelligent interest in their political problems, so in industry we shall have industrial autocracy as long as stockholders and workers take no effective interest in management but indulge in sentimental ideas. The same is true of the farmers' coöperatives. So long as the rank and file take no effective interest, all that can be done is to carry them to greater prosperity. And so long as the coöperatives have a benevolent and wise management farmers will do well to let themselves be carried, instead of "kicking" and preventing coöperation altogether.

This rather blunt statement of the farmer's lack of intelligent interest in his coöperative involves no condemnation. Possibly it could not be otherwise, when we consider our rural heritage and the recency of the farmer's emergence into the full-blown business economy. The attitudes of the individualistic viewpoint change slowly. Nevertheless a new farming class configuration is in process of formation. The process is, of course, most advanced in the coöperative leaders. It is a psychological process that centers in the mind of farmers of constructive imagination who are intent on improving the condition of farmers as a class. That is, they are directly interested in the welfare of others. A coöperative configuration is thus, at first, a coöperative ideal, and the ideal of leaders is a product of imagination and sympathy. The rank

and file of farmers come to participate in the coöperative organization without much sharing of the ideal, except as they catch from the leaders the we-must-get-together attitude, which gradually modifies the free-enterprise and other attitudes. The leaders are men who are temperamentally sympathetic and intellectual in a pronounced degree and are generous and constructive on behalf of the group with which their lives and fortunes are bound up. As contrasted with these idealistic few the rank and file merely participate in the attitudes and beliefs of their group; as the get-together attitude spreads they participate in that.

Intimate association with coöperative leaders throws light on their part in the process. As they go about the work of their farms, in intervals of toil their problems are on their minds, including the problems of their coöperative organization. Coöperation involves a solution of problems one after another in a series to which there seems to be no end. In the working out of these problems the farmer is at the same time unconsciously developing in himself intellectual attitudes the effects of which reach into the farthest recesses of his character. This is not mere theory. I have seen these intellectual attitudes working out in the lives of farmers and can give concrete cases. For instance, a farmer who was depressed over the slow progress of a co-operative enterprise assigned its lack of success to a mistake at a vital point. He said: "We organized to sell produce and to buy farm materials. We were accumulating a little surplus out of the farm materials side of the business. What we ought to have done was to have kept this surplus undivided. But *we wanted to show 'em,* so we declared a dividend. There was our mistake." The point here is that the constructive imagination erred at a certain point because rivalry asserted itself—"we wanted to show 'em." But this experience was by no means of no avail. It not only taught a lesson in business policy but worked for the subordination of rivalry to clear thinking in that man's character.

It may be said that this development of the character of leaders is a personal matter but that coöperation is a process of organization. The answer is that the character of leaders determines the process of organization. In the example above cited, if the leaders had been a bit less rivalrous in character, the process of organization would have been different. Here is another example. A coöperative organization opened expensive offices in a certain city and hired expensive managers. This meant a large "overhead" expense. The men who urged this policy were moved by a sense of the importance of their enterprise. The

main offices must be in accord with its importance; so must the officials and such men are high paid. That is, rivalrous attitudes determined vital aspects of the policy of the association. These men were conscious of the attitudes of the rank and file of farmers, particularly the attitude to save and economize, and they felt that this attitude must not be allowed to belittle their big enterprise. But there were farmers who did not approve of either the expensive or the niggardly program. These were the farmers of constructive imagination, and they had the foresight to see that "time will tell." It did. The overhead expense was found to be too great. The expensive offices and officials had to go. Thus we cannot separate the process in the individual mind from the process of organization because the leaders work out their ideas in the organization. Coöperation is first in the individual mind, then in the organization, and the two develop together.

Still penetrating the mind of coöperative leaders we find that back of the ideas that enter into the solution of problems is the will to solve them. This perseverance is essential in the rural heritage. In his work the farmer has constantly been thrown on his own resources. He has had to meet situations by his own ingenuity. The minister preached perseverance in connection with the spiritual life. It was no disgrace to fail, he said, providing one resolved to make his failure a means of spiritual growth. This persistent willingness to meet a hard situation, to solve its problems, animates the coöperative leaders. They have faith in their great venture.

Essential in the coöperative configuration is the get-together attitude, that is, "a will to agree." Early conditions accentuated a will to differ. Farmers were averse to discussing with others their problems. They were given to argument rather than discussion. In argument they had the habit of asserting their own ideas and "contradicting" others or using others' ideas in support of their own belief. A will to agree implies learning from others and modifying one's ideas in the light of what is learned. There was an incipient will to agree in the early neighborhood. In many neighborhoods there were men whose directions were just naturally followed when farmers were cooperating in doing something, but, aside from this will to learn from certain outstanding figures in the course of work, the inclination was all the other way. This was due entirely to the occupation of the farmer. The merchant learns that the attitude of getting the customer's point of view, in a difference of opinion, strengthens him with customers. The professional man learns to see a situation through

the eyes of patient or client. But the farmer has not until recently been brought into these business relations. The will to agree is essential in a coöperative organization, whether it is a coöperative organization of farmers or a labor organization.[4]

Coöperative leaders, particularly, develop a will to agree in various ways. First, in the course of solving their problems they learn from others and develop a willingness to learn. Second, a farmer's stubborn insistence on his own belief stands out by contrast with their own reasonableness and they see how fatal to coöperation stubbornness is and are constantly urging others, "Don't be so set." Third, in their intent on the main end they develop the attitude of letting others in the coöperative enterprise have their way in all except the vital points. "Time will show which of us is right," they say.

Coöperation as a psychological process is, of course, intimately connected with the psychological conditions out of which it develops. These were mentioned in a preceding chapter and one of them may be more carefully considered at this point. The rise of coöperation was preceded by a general condition of discontent among farmers, with an urge toward something better. In New York discontent did not spring from dire need. It first became pronounced in the depression of 1894–97, which seemed worse than it was because of contrast with the preceding years of prosperity. Contrast this condition with the dire need which led to coöperation in Denmark: "There, impulse to cooperate originated in dire poverty. No farm population in America at any time has ever experienced the poverty that the Danish endured with no chance to cure during 600 long years of serfdom. And when the vote of citizenship was given to them mid-way the nineteenth century, living in the farm regions was reduced to its very lowest terms. They had little or no land, no money with which to buy farms, and still less cash with which to operate them. They were keen enough to see that their first need was investment capital and operating cash. And they were as prompt to organize coöperative credit unions as the German farmers. But the German farmers stopped with credit unions while the Danes moved on into coöperative manufacture, marketing and buying, all of which were the inventions of pinching necessity. . . .

"Exactly as partridges huddle together in a snow storm so the Danish peasant farmers huddled together to work out their common problems, and out of the comradeship of poverty grew the coöperating spirit and the coöperative virtues—tireless industry and pinching self-

denial, sagacity or keen prudential foresight, faith in one's fellow man, willing subordination to self-chosen authority, unimpeachable integrity, and unbreakable courage. A Dane disloyal to his coöperatives is almost unknown, or so I was repeatedly told in Denmark." [5] The American farmer, more independent and less comradely because never so hard pinched, knows less of group loyalty, though family loyalty and loyalty to particular friends was one of the pronounced attitudes of the early farmer. The Danish peasant, long exploited in serfdom by overlords, was less individualistic and more capable of group action than is the free American farmer, who not until recently has begun to feel the hand of the controlling interests.

A sense of need is always relative.[6] Two different sets of relations enter in, the relation of present to past condition and, in a lesser degree, the relative need of the group in question as compared with that of other groups in the population. Of course there is a condition of absolute need—that of a population that has passed below "the subsistence level." But the farming population of the United States has been above that level and the discontent that led to coöperation was due to the depression in agriculture, as compared with the prosperity of the past, and to farmers' lack of a reasonable return for their labor and investment as compared with the prosperity of business and professional groups.

After a coöperative enterprise is born out of the stress of discontent, it is developed by the fostering care of its leadership. Such an enterprise cannot be perfected in the first generation of coöperators. Their attitudes were, early in life, set in the opposite direction. They are members of a coöperative society but are only imperfect cooperators. Consequently, public education must form the coöperative attitudes in the rural children. This is the essential end of rural education. The problem of adapting public education to this end is very difficult. As Professor Branson well says, "The rural school is a mired wheel in American education." [7] The failure of our educational system to meet rural needs lies in a failure to comprehend the needs. The purpose of rural education is not to give children the learning that traditionally has been regarded as necessary, and is not to teach scientific agriculture but to inculcate the coöperative ideal. To do this the teacher must have acquired it herself for only then will the impulses and attitudes of rural children, as they are displayed in the schoolroom and on the playground, have the significance for her that they must have if she is to train them for a coöperative rural life. That is, the

rural teacher is to assume that she is training her pupils for rural life, not for business or the professions. She is no longer to teach them to "aim high," which has meant higher than agriculture but to look to rural life as the good life and to make agriculture an occupation worth remaining in. Consequently the teacher must be capable of intuitively entering into the life of the rural community, and this comes only by "an experimental knowledge." Then she can promote coöperation in every phase of rural life. This is not mere theory. It has been done by teachers throughout Denmark,[8] and it has been done in certain rural communities of the United States.[9]

The traditional American spirit, as described in Chapters I and II, is against this change in education. It is a spirit of free enterprise and rivalry. Boys catch this spirit from newspapers and magazines and from the talk of their elders. So the attention of rural youths and girls is attracted away from their own community, in which this dazzling success they read about is not to be achieved. Free enterprise and rivalry give the characters of children an individualistic twist, which makes coöperation difficult. Say this to a group of young farmers or farm girls, that is, speak doubtfully of the supreme value, the sacred efficacy of free enterprise and rivalry, and they are quick to exclaim, "But isn't it true?" Are not individual enterprise and ambition to excel the most commendable attitudes young people can have? Whatever may have been true in pioneer days and in the generations immediately following, I think we can say that it is no longer true. For instance, here is a typical case. A farm boy, admirably fitted to be a farmer but aspiring to something "higher," left home to make his fortune in the city. He went into a factory and in a few years worked up to a high salaried position. Then his health was impaired and he returned to the life of a farmer and regained his health. He had ambition but did he succeed? He set out to achieve success as a farmer but found that even for the best farmers farming did not pay as it should. Had he yet succeeded? He had not suceeded even in a material way, with his individualistic viewpoint. Then he became a coöperative leader and played his part in the advancement of his community and of his agricultural industry; and he began to realize what real success means.

Education prepares a people for a change in organization in two ways, by educating leaders and by preparing the rank and file. A period that requires change especially calls for idealists, that is, men of ideas who see the need of change and the kind of change needed.

The supply of idealists is never fixed; education, according to its efficiency, may call forth more or less of them. As to the preparation of the rank and file, that involves training youths and girls in the attitudes required for the necessary change in organization. One of the great obstacles to this use of education is the fact that education is predominantly influenced by existing attitudes. Education is seized on as a means of perpetuating existing attitudes and so there is a conflict for control of education between idealists and those who would maintain the existing attitudes. This is a world-wide phenomenon. For instance, in Italy the program of the Fascisti includes the use of public education to cut the ground from under the idealists by using education to inculcate the militaristic attitudes in the impressionable years of childhood.[10] In the United States, public school teachers glorify free enterprise and ambition for success, and appeal to rivalry as the main incentive to study. Thus do existing attitudes insinuate themselves into education and prevent it being used for social progress.

The effect of the glorification of the nation and the army in Italy and France and the effect of the glorification, in the United States, of individual success as conventionally interpreted, that is, in terms of material or other objectively conspicuous success, is to cause an occupation in which success is not conspicuous, as agriculture, to be despised. Farmers in Italy, France and the United States despise their own calling as an inglorious one. The glorious callings in France and Italy are the army and the public service; in the United States, business and the professions. In all these countries agriculture is more or less despised. On the other hand, in a nation like Denmark in which the state and the army is not glorified, and in which no such riches are to be won in business as in the United States, and in which free enterprise and rivalry have never been so pronounced, men's minds are more effectively on their work, not only in agriculture but in other occupations. This condition is favorable to the development in all occupations of effective economic relations; in agriculture, this has resulted in a highly developed coöperative organization.

In spite of the influence on public education in America of a national spirit that is adverse to coöperation, the public school administration could, if it were so minded, go a long way in training pupils to think coöperatively. The chief obstacle is the necessity the school is under of crowding into the child's mind a mass of varied information, so that the emphasis is necessarily on forcing the child to learn rather than teaching him or her to think. Much of the matter taught in the

curriculum should be eliminated and courses that make for coöperation should be introduced. More attention should be given to the social sciences, which set forth coöperation as an ideal for the various social institutions. Music, also, should be emphasized, particularly singing. One of the things we miss in American rural life is music. It is rare to hear any music in the rural home except the victrola and, in the homes of prosperous farmers, the radio. Hearty singing in church services is exceptional and it is rare in the schools. Now music is a powerful stimulus of coöperative attitudes. For in the teaching of music not only is the group's interest aroused but the pupils are brought by a skillful teacher into the finest kind of coöperation. Choral singing blends the thoughts and feelings of all the little people in the production of one beautiful and happy experience. It is an experience in which sympathetic contact is achieved as in no other school exercise. In schools that are featured by the coöperative ideal, choral singing and orchestral music are among the main features.[11] In these exercises rivalry is subdued. One who tries to make himself or herself heard above the others is toned down. In countries where coöperation is advanced, singing and the playing of instruments is common among the rural people.[12] Surely the school in America might do more than it does to promote music.

Another thing that one misses in rural New York is the heartiness that comes of agreement in essential attitudes. One finds this lack of agreement even within the family circle, as will be shown in the chapter on the family. Families are under various outside influences, which cause disagreement or stimulate rivalry between members of a family and between families in the neighborhood. The rural church's opportunity lies in the service it can render at this point. Rivalry is essentially irreligious. As pointed out in Chapter II, it requires subservience to the conventional standards of superiority, in which objective, material standards predominate. Religion, on the other hand, is practicable idealism. It involves convictions as to the real values of life, which cause one to disregard the prevailing standards of superiority and go counter to them. For instance, the world says, "Blessed are the proud and successful,"—the superior. Religion says, "Blessed are the humble, those who hunger and thirst after righteousness,"—the idealistic. The world says, "Blessed are those who, by rising above inferiority, have cast out fear." Religion says, "Blessed are those who by absorption in ideals have ceased to be afraid of what the world calls inferiority." Only by a release

from rivalry is the individual set free to give his full power to a realization of ideals. Now coöperation, as above described, is a practicable ideal. A new, coöperative American spirit is to be created; this must be begun with the little children. The young must be trained to comprehend the real values of life, values that unite people, as contrasted with beliefs that separate and attitudes that antagonize.

In Denmark, educational reformers did much to prepare the people for coöperation. Years before the rise of coöperation Bishop Grundtvig and Kristen Kold began the agitation which resulted in the folk high school system of Denmark. "So far no other country of the world has been able to transplant the folk high school as it exists in Denmark, not even Norway and Sweden, her next door neighbors and racial kinsmen, but these and a half-dozen other countries have been inspired to evolve folk high schools of their own. And nowhere with perfect success or not yet. Which means that no other country has yet given birth to an original genius like Grundtvig or an Old Testament prophet like Christian Kold." In the United States "the agency of country salvation will be a fit country-life school that develops the spirit and the virtues of living and working together for the common good. The Danes call these Christianity and less than these is not Christianity no matter what notions of religion prevail, say the Danes. The coöperative farm enterprises of Denmark have grown out of the coöperative spirit and the coöperative virtues." [13]

Not only to eliminate rivalry and develop the spirit of living and working together for the common good but for certain more specific reasons coöperation requires a religious background for its full development. First, every coöperative organization suffers from factions in its own ranks. This is likely to be due to rivalry. Second, in every agricultural industry which has a coöperative organization there is a considerable number of farmers who will not join the organization and whose opposition weakens its efficiency. As one coöperative leader put it, "Nothing but the grace of God will enable us to get together and keep together." Third, a coöperative society in which members lack the religious incentive is apt sooner or later to center narrowly on its own interests and disregard the common welfare. It is likely to emphasize exclusively the material side of life. This also is a good deal due to rivalry. So there must be a constant emphasis on spirituality as opposed to rivalry and materialism, and this only can come from an idealistic, that is, a religious viewpoint. Assuming, then, that coöperation needs a religious viewpoint,

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we cannot hope to enlist a conservative rural population in a brand new system of religious ideas. And it is not necessary. What is needed are geniuses to interpret religion to the people. Wherefore let the rural clergy interpret religion in a way to make the coöperative ideal compelling. Thus will the church play a vital part in bringing to pass the new social order.

CHAPTER XX

THE FARM AND HOME BUREAU

THE Farm and Home Bureau originated as a movement to bring to the attention of farmers and farm women the new ideas of scientific agriculture and home making. It is an essential principle of Farm Bureau officials that the Bureau exists to serve the farmers' needs as voiced by the farmers; but the work is carried on by paid experts in scientific farming and home making and this expert leadership is the distinctive feature of the organization.

The Farm Bureau originated in the work of Dr. S. A. Knapp, a field worker in the employ of the United States Department of Agriculture, who had been sent to the Texas cotton fields to lead the farmers in fighting the boll weevil. He saw that the cause of their trouble was not merely the destructive insect but a wrong system of agriculture and conceived the idea of teaching by doing instead of by merely telling. His demonstration method spread to other states and to other lines of agriculture. Finally this teaching was organized on the basis of the county as a unit and the first county agent of the Farm Bureau was established by the United States Department of Agriculture in Broome county, New York, in 1911.[1] The organization spread to other counties and states. In five years more than twelve hundred counties in the United States had bureaus. The first state federation of county bureaus was that of Missouri, formed in 1915. The New York federation was formed in 1917, and a national federation was organized in 1919.[2]

The Farm Bureau is an expression of the efforts of national, state and local agricultural leaders to induce the custom-ridden farmer to adopt new and better ways of doing. As an organization for a systematic development of scientific farming and home making,[3] it is primarily concerned neither with the coöperative buying of supplies nor with coöperative marketing, though it fosters both movements. It aims to interest farmers in scientific agriculture, in improving their health and their homes and in developing a community life that shall "make country life reasonably satisfying." [4] So it is primarily an edu-

cational institution. It assumes that the rural population has the capacity to recognize improved ways of doing, once they are demonstrated. While its demonstrations of better ways cover the entire life of the farmer and his family, they center on the farm work.

The central purpose of the Farm Bureau is to develop scientific agriculture. The work in each county is in charge of a paid expert in agriculture, called the county agent, who gives all his time to the work. He organizes the farmers by communities and persuades the influential farmers of each community to act as the community committee.[5] There is also in each county a county committee made up of farmers of the different agricultural industries of the county. The county and the community committees work out programs of projects for the farmers of each community and see that the projects are executed.[6] The county agent advises with the committees in the making of their programs and, by farm visits and demonstrations, assists in carrying them out.[7]

The Farm Bureau is an important means of community development, though its importance in this respect has been somewhat less than that of the coöperative societies or the Grange. The Farm Bureau in New York at first organized the farmers by school districts or by towns with local committees in each district or town, but now they have come to be organized almost entirely on a community basis. These communities, as we have seen, are rather indefinite areas surrounding a local center of some sort, usually a trading center. Thus the projects of the Bureau are an important means of developing the community as a distinct self-conscious group. As yet, however, the Farm Bureau has enlisted only a small percentage of the farmers in most communities. Unlike the Grange the Farm Bureau is distinctly a farmer's organization, and unlike the coöperatives it does not group farmers according to the agricultural industry they follow but aims to include all the farmers of the community. Thus the Farm Bureau has great possibilities as a means of community development.

The importance of the work of the Farm Bureau as an organization for promotion of scientific agriculture can be understood only in the light of the failure of the means previously used to enlist the interest of the farmers. Pamphlets, farm papers, farmer's institutes, had disseminated more or less information but the farmers, left to themselves, lacked the assurance to put this into practice.[8] The Farm Bureau does not leave the farmer to himself. It organizes the farmers of a community and this organization is headed by the community com-

mittee which selects certain projects to be done and sees that they are done. The automobile enables the members of the project committee to visit and stimulate the farmers of their community. When farmers get interested in carrying out the program they can be induced to attend occasional meetings at some farm in the community where the county agent explains and demonstrates new methods. Farmers thus learn by doing and the Farm Bureau aims in this way to stimulate the farmer to improve his farm year after year. The county agent, in addition to his field work, publishes a monthly paper which discusses the problems of the Bureau and a copy of this is sent to each member.[9]

The decreasing adherence to customary ways of doing is by no means confined to the men of the rural districts. The Home Bureau reaches the women. There are home demonstration agents who organize the women of the various communities of the county for working out home and community projects. The membership fee in most cases is one dollar a year.[10] In 1924 these Home Bureau units were found in thirty-five counties of the state, with a total membership of about thirty thousand women. The units are organized in a New York State Federation of County Home Bureau Associations. The Farm and Home Bureau also carries on extension work in agriculture and home economics for boys and girls.[11] This is done in connection with the teaching of agriculture and domestic science in the schools. The school children are organized for working out crop and animal and home projects. There have been as many as twenty thousand children in the state enrolled in this junior project work. The aim is to arouse the interest of children in problems that will increase in importance as they grow up. This is sound teaching policy and, if sensibly worked out, it cannot fail to develop in the rising generation more effective intellectual attitudes than have marked the rural population in the past.

The work of the Farm Bureau in New York is still in its infancy. In 1924, farmers of fifty-five of the fifty-six agricultural counties of the state were organized for work under the direction of a county agent. But in forty-nine counties less than one quarter of the farmers were members of the Bureau, and in no county were one-half of the farmers members. In the state as a whole only sixteen and one-half per cent of the farmers were members. One reason for this small membership is the conservatism of farmers and their lack of interest in scientific agriculture. Another reason, possibly, is that the membership fee was raised to five dollars a year. Another is the failure

of some county agents to win the respect of farmers and arouse interest in the movement. Another is the jealousies of farmers. Farmers sometimes accuse agents of being more interested in some other agricultural industry than the one in which they happen to be particularly interested. In a new movement like the one we are considering the agent has his own lack of experience to contend with, as well as the conservatism and jealousies of farmers. Another reason for the comparatively small membership is that, during the past few years, the farmers have been absorbed in the development of associations for cooperative marketing.

The purpose stressed by the Bureau has not been thoroughly understood. Scientific farming seems to most farmers to center on increased production. Thus, especially during the depression of 1920–23, the farmer said: "The Bureau is all for production. We are producing too much already. What we need to know is how to market, at a reasonable price, what we do grow." Now the Bureau does not aim to increase production, for the volume of production depends on the seasons, on prices, freight rates and other conditions. What it does aim to do is to diminish cost of production, and also cost of marketing. It is on diminishing cost of marketing that the farmers' interest has been centered during the past few years and thus their primary interest often has conflicted with that of the county agent, who would center on decreasing cost of production.[12] Nevertheless it is a part of the county agent's business to assist farmers in forming societies for coöperative marketing and the county agent devotes a considerable part of his time to these problems.[13] The offices of the Farm Bureau were headquarters for the promotion of the Dairymen's League. In this work for coöperation the Farm Bureau has met the opposition of interests that were opposed to coöperation. The "middlemen and dealers who handle the supplies or buy the products which farmers with the help of the county agent have now organized themselves to buy and to sell, feel that their business has been interfered with by a publicly employed agent. This group, which probably constitutes less than five per cent of the population, is well organized and has been most insistent in its objections, claiming that public agents are interfering with private business." [14] These men have attacked the policy of providing public appropriations for work, which, as they alleged, assisted one economic class against another. Wherefore, county agents have been advised by those to whom they were responsible not to undertake "any propaganda to bring about coöperative organization.

There should be a real need for coöperative action and there should be a strong desire for such action by a group before county agents are justified in helping the group to organize." [15] While the county agent as a public official may not take the initiative in developing coöperation, "the county farm bureau is an independent local association of farmers and has a perfect right to engage directly in coöperative buying and selling"; but "it is not believed that it is usually good policy for it to do so. . . . It can probably function best by supporting the county agent and applying its energies to the working out of the county program." [16]

We are thus confronted with the public character of the county agent as a condition requiring caution on his part. It is necessary to explain his public connections. The agent of any particular county is chosen by the directors of the County Bureau and the members of the State Extension Service at Cornell University. The directors are chosen by the farmers of the county who are members of the Bureau. Any farmer can join by paying the membership fee, in most cases five dollars. The directors of the Bureau choose the county agent from a list of candidates nominated by the members of the State Extension Service. The latter are appointed by the trustees of Cornell University. The financial support of the County Bureau, the expenses of which are largely the salary and expenses of the county agent, is derived from a contribution by the federal government based on the rural population of the state, and from an appropriation by the state government, and from one by the county Board of Supervisors, and, finally, from the fees paid by the members. The appropriation by the Board of Supervisors furnishes over one-half the total funds of the Bureau and the membership fees not much over one-quarter.[17] The rest is furnished by the federal and state governments. The Board of Supervisors may refuse to make an appropriation if they do not approve of the work of the county agent; and, unless the farmers make up the deficit thus created, which usually they do not do, that puts an end to the Farm Bureau in that county. It is for this reason that it has seemed necessary for the county agent to avoid as far as possible antagonizing business interests and politicians who might influence the Board of Supervisors against the work of the Bureau.

The public character of the agent has necessitated one other limitation of his activities. He must avoid taking any part in the support of legislation that is being sought by the New York State Federation of County Farm Bureau Associations at Albany or by the American

Farm Bureau Federation at Washington. If questioned by farmers about a legislative project he may give some explanation at his discretion but he is told to avoid discussing legislative projects. He may refer a farmer who questions him about legislative projects to the weekly news sheet printed by the American Farm Bureau Federation and sent to subscribers for one dollar a year. In this sheet the Federation discusses the progress of its legislative projects at Washington. Few farmers subscribe for this sheet. So the educational work of the county agent is limited to demonstration of better farming methods, to assisting in coöperative projects, and to community and home projects. The political work of the Farm Bureau in the state is undertaken by the New York State Federation of County Farm Bureau Associations. The county agents and their state leaders are distinct from this federation. The state leaders are appointed by the trustees of Cornell University, and the officials of the State Federation do not have a voice in the appointment, though presumably leaders would not be appointed against the protest of the officers of the state organization with whom the leaders have to work. The State Federation is, therefore, free, as the state paid agents and their leaders are not, to work for legislation for the benefit of the farmers. Its officers are elected by the county bureaus, which have federated for the promotion of common purposes that required state action. Among these purposes is the enactment of legislation required for more efficient agriculture. Also, "there was undoubtedly an unformulated but none the less potent desire for a power and influence in the state and nation commensurate with the importance of agriculture, and now being realized, as, for example, in the formation of the 'agricultural bloc' in Congress." [18] The New York State Federation of County Farm Bureau Associations has followed the policy of supporting only legislation that is distinctly concerned with rural interests. In supporting its legislative projects the method of the State Federation has been to notify the county bureaus of desired legislation and to say, "If you are in favor of this, use your influence with your representatives in the legislature." At the same time news material in favor of the legislation is furnished the county officers of the bureaus and is sent to the village newspapers. While the State Federation avoids taking a strong position for legislation that has become a partisan issue, it does not hesitate to fight economic interests that oppose its measures and legislators whose zeal suggests that they represent such interests.

CHAPTER XXI

THE PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY OR THE GRANGE, AND THE AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE BOARD

The Grange

THE Grange, like the Farm Bureau, originated in the efforts of employees of the United States government to assist the farmers to improve their condition. Oliver H. Kelley, a clerk in the office of the Commissioner of Agriculture, during a visit among the farmers, was impressed with "their blind disposition to do as their grandfathers had done, their antiquated methods of agriculture, and, most of all, their apathy." "Kelley decided that this general situation was largely brought about by lack of social opportunities which made the existence of the farmer a dull, dread monotony which in time incapacitated him for any change or progress in his outlook on life or in his attitude toward his work." [1] So he conceived the idea of organizing the farmers into lodges akin to the Masonic Order of which he was a member. With a few associates who were employed in different government departments he organized the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry and resigned his position with the government to tour the country and institute Granges. The first permanently successful Grange was organized soon after at Fredonia, N. Y., in 1868. The growth of the movement in the state and in other states was slow and its final success was due to the personal magnetism of Kelley, his enthusiasm and perseverance in the face of the indifference and apathy of the farmers, and to his insight into rural character. Kelley at first had stressed only the social and educational functions of the Grange. When he began to emphasize the idea that the Grange offered a means of protection against business corporations by coöperative buying and selling, the farmers began to get interested.[2] The movement began to grow in various states. Local Granges multiplied in New York and these were organized into the New York State Grange, which held its first meeting in 1873. In 1923, there were 912 Granges in New York. They were found in

every agricultural county in the state. There were more local Granges and more members (over 140,000) in New York than in any other state in the Union. There were fifty-three county, or, as they are called, Pomona Granges, to which all members of the local Granges of the county are eligible for this higher degree.

The Grange is of great importance as a movement that has functioned for the development of the rural community. In New York the Grange has been almost wholly a social organization. As such it has satisfied a real need, for the passing of the old neighborhood social life left the farmer without social opportunities except those offered by the church and the Grange organized the farmers of the community for social enjoyment. It was the first organization in New York that functioned for the reconstruction of the rural community after the passing of the isolated neighborhood. The constituency of a local Grange is determined along community lines, without regard to the town or other civil division. Grange halls are usually located in villages or hamlets which are trading centers of rural communities, but there are halls at cross-roads in the open country. At first the Grange included only farmers but later came to include village people. However, most local Granges remain rural in purpose and sentiment. The Grange is an important organization for the formation of rural opinion, but its importance in this respect is hardly equal to that of the leading rural papers.

The social function of the Grange has far transcended all others, though recently its educational function has come more to the front. The importance of the social function is set forth in the Grange literature as follows: "The farmer was created a social being and needs the wholesome influence of organization to keep him so. His business is comparatively one of isolation . . . he needs a farm organization where he, with his family, can meet with freedom and ease, and while cultivating sociability, can secure mental culture and pleasing manners. . . .

"The Grange may be called the liberator of the American farmer's wife, as it was the first organization that gave to women the same privileges and rights as are enjoyed by man." [3] An organization the essential function of which is social naturally enhances the appreciation of woman inasmuch as she is the conspicuous figure in social functions. Furthermore, the economic functions of the wife in the American farmer's family early gave her an importance and an authority that was a decided advance on the traditional subjection of the wife.

While the main function of the Grange continues to be the social one, it is more active along economic lines than formerly. There is no coöperative selling by the Grange, but it encourages farmers to organize for coöperative marketing. The master of the State Grange in 1923 was also secretary of the Dairymen's League; and the master in 1924 was the first president of the New York State Federation of County Farm Bureau Associations. As to coöperative buying, the State Grange, the Dairymen's League and the New York State Federation of County Farm Bureau Associations actively participated in selling the stock of the Grange-League-Federation Exchange, a company formed to enable farmers through it to buy supplies on better terms than those given by business concerns.

The Grange is also more active politically than formerly. Its political attitude is clearly stated in its literature. In the circular "Why Should Every Farmer Belong to the Grange?" we read: "There are certain conditions existing that must be met and overcome to obtain results desired by the farmer. What legislation is needed must be secured by his combined efforts. As an individual among a hundred million people he is infinitesimally small, and as an individual he is hopelessly helpless to do one thing to obtain relief.

"The moment the farmer attempts to relieve any burden created by unjust taxation or unequal distribution of it, it makes no difference in what direction, he is met by an organized force. . . .

"The farmer has submitted so long to the powers that be that in many places he has lost confidence in his ability to do anything, and above all he needs the stimulating influence of a farm organization to awaken his energies and give him courage. To do the work assigned to him as a citizen he needs an understanding of the questions of the day. . . . In short, he must be able to stand up and defend his interests . . . this ability . . . comes from a drill obtained in organization, and a farm organization teaches him to have confidence in his fellow farmers and acquaints him with the vital questions affecting his interests." [4] So the Grange stands unequivocally for the organization of farmers to further their political interests as a class. It is a rule of the Grange not to discuss partisan or sectarian questions at their meetings or even to discuss the merits of particular candidates for office.[5] This is because such discussions might create ill-feeling between members of different parties or sects. But the Grange, as well as other farmers' organizations, has representatives at Albany and Washington to further the legislation it wants enacted, and it

can point to quite a list of laws enacted in the interest of farmers which were effectively backed by the Grange.[6] In its political work the officers of the State Grange take up a legislative project with the local granges and indicate how they are to make their wishes known to their legislators; also the officers personally work with legislators and throw the influence of their organization against that of economic interests opposed to their projects.

The New York Agricultural Conference Board

This Board is composed of the officers and executive committees of the New York State Grange, the Dairymen's League, the New York State Federation of County Farm Bureau Associations, the New York State Federation of County Home Bureau Associations, the New York State Horticultural Society, and the Coöperative Council.[7] The latter represents a group of state-wide coöperative organizations. The Board holds informal conferences whenever a situation arises which it is thought the constituent organizations could discuss with profit and on which possibly they could formulate a plan for united action. The occasions of discussion usually are legislative projects. No action is taken unless the conference is unanimous; otherwise the constituent organizations that may favor a legislative project proceed by themselves. Several important projects have been supported by the Conference Board. Its significance lies in this: (1) that it represents an arrangement for harmonious coöperation of the various farmers' organizations, whereas in some states there is a strife between farmers' organizations that prevents effective coöperation;[8] (2) that it represents an arrangement for organized political action of farmers as a class to advance their interests. The action proceeds from above downward. That is, the officials of the farm organizations represented on the Board decide when action is to be taken and then attempt to stir the locals to exert the required pressure on their representatives at Albany or Washington. But no systematic political education is carried on by any farmers' organization. Their action consists merely of propaganda to stimulate the locals to support some particular legislation.

In 1920 there was projected an organization called the New York Federation of Agriculture for the political education of the farmers and for uniting them for political action. It was designed to federate the agricultural organizations of the state into one organization for

political action, not as a separate political party but through the existing parties. The *Rural New-Yorker,* a magazine which has a circulation of over 100,000 in New York,[9] was to coöperate by carrying the political projects to the thousands of farmers in New York who were not members of any organization. The plan did not get very far because the organizations, when they came to the point of delegating their political power to a central organization, decided not to do so. The *Rural New-Yorker* for a time went ahead alone with its part of the project but the main plan fell through. The entire movement was of short duration—it was projected, attempted and failed within a few months—but it is noteworthy as an attempt to organize New York farmers for political action. It was a move in the right direction, for the economic interests of farmers require that they exert their political power as a unit. Political coöperation is one important phase of coöperation, as we shall see in succeeding chapters. But doubtless the farmers of New York are not yet sufficiently intelligent for this political coöperation.

Political coöperation is limited to that initiated by action of the Agricultural Conference Board. But this represents only organized farmers and the agricultural organizations do not include in their membership all the farmers of the state. It is impossible to say what proportion of the farmers of New York are included in the organizations represented in the Agricultural Conference Board but probably it is not much more than one-half. Thus a considerable proportion of farmers are unorganized either for economic or political coöperation. They get their economic and political information chiefly through the rural newspapers and from farm papers like the *Rural New-Yorker* and the *American Agriculturist.* The latter had a circulation of over 86,000 in New York in 1925. As stated above, the *Rural New-Yorker* undertook to organize the farmers for political action. According to the plan every farmer and every qualified voter of his family was to have an opportunity to vote ballots sent out by the Rural New-Yorker on certain questions, for instance, what men are the most desirable Republican or Democratic candidates for this or that office, and, are the farmers in favor of this or that bill before the state legislature or Congress. The *Rural New-Yorker* printed in its columns ballots on questions like these, to be voted and sent in. It reported the results of the balloting and on one question over four thousand five hundred ballots were cast.[10] However, this was not very many as compared with the number of ballots sent out. The

rural voters proved to be rather indifferent. Also many of them are hidebound in party politics and suspicious of any attempt to induce them to act independently. Wherefore this attempt to get a political expression of the farmers on various questions was discontinued. Another method was tried by the *Rural New-Yorker* in 1923 in connection with the proposed law for the consolidation of rural schools. It called for public meetings at the various schoolhouses where the people should discuss the proposed law and vote for or against it. In one evening as a result of this call over twelve hundred meetings were held. The political power of the unorganized farmers, on occasion, is evident from the fact that, in 1924, their opposition to the rural school bill, under the agitation of the *Rural New-Yorker,* defeated that measure in spite of the fact that the Agricultural Conference Board, after a careful study of the school problem, had come out strongly in favor of the bill.

The *Rural New-Yorker* has aimed to incite all farmers, organized and unorganized, to think on questions vitally connected with their interests, but farmers generally lack the intelligence to understand public questions. Their opinions are likely to be determined by the process of the thrusting forward of attitudes referred to in a preceding chapter. What the farmers need is an education which will enable them to take an intelligent attitude to public questions. The public school system does nothing to promote such an education. Just as workmen in the cities must, as things are, educate themselves for economic and political advancement without relying on the public school system,[11] so, it seems, must the farmers. But how long will farmers support a school system that does little or nothing for their own advancement? Why not make the system such as will contribute to rural progress?

CHAPTER XXII

CHANGES IN FAMILY ATTITUDES

WE turn now to changes in the attitudes of the different rural groups—the family, the church, the school—during the last half century. Incidentally we shall refer to the village, but these chapters are studies of farming groups. Of course psychological processes found among the farmers may be found elsewhere as well. We are setting forth the processes of rural development without regard to whether or not they are distinctly rural processes.

In analyzing changes in attitudes during the last half century, all that can be done is to indicate what seems to be the trend as it has been gathered in the course of contact with rural people. With a sufficient number engaged in the investigation it would be possible to give these problems the detailed analysis they require. In attempting to delineate changes in attitudes and beliefs, we must bear in mind that various communities show marked differences in respect to such changes. For instance, while the trend in family relations seems to be in the direction of increasing strain between parents and children, we find communities where this is not true. In the latter, the parents are not set in the old attitudes, while their children are attracted in the opposite direction by the different behavior of the neighboring village or city. They do not try to keep their children at home and at work constantly but are willing that they should go to the village for reasonable recreation and for education. This latter type of family may obtain in one community and just the opposite may be found in a near-by community. Where the farmers are "tight wads," set in the old attitudes, opposed to their children having education and reasonable recreation, this attitude is generally known and farmers who might be otherwise inclined are influenced thereby. One who puts his girl through college "never hears the last of it." On the other hand, where the farmers are in sympathy with their children, to the extent at least of giving them education and reasonable recreation, this also is generally known and farmers who might be opposed to it are reminded of parents who are "better" to their children, so they

are inclined to acquiesce in the prevailing behavior. There is thus a tendency for a community to become predominantly of one type or the other. In the set type the children are eager to get off the farm; in the other they are more inclined to remain. Of course there are communities where no such unanimity in attitudes is seen, and in every community diverse attitudes can be found. The problem of general trend therefore involves considering communities of various types. With this understanding of the meaning of trend we may state certain trends.

The essential trend in family relations during the last fifty years seems to have been in the direction of a less distinct and closely articulated family configuration than formerly. There is less pressure within the family against a differing member than formerly and the family does less things together. The causes of this change are economic and social. The things which the family of the early days did so much together were economic—the day's work—and social—they enjoyed themselves together after the day's work was done. Today the children are likely to do less work with the father and mother. They go to school to learn to be something besides farmers and farmers' wives and are excused from home work because it interferes with their school work. In their pleasures they associate more with their schoolmates in the village and less with the family. The family is less of a unit, both in work and recreation, than heretofore.

In studying these changes in family relations let us take first the relation between husband and wife. In the early days husband and wife were comrades in an economic enterprise, and they were dependent on each other for companionship in the isolated life. A change began in the first period of rural expansion among the prosperous farmers living near villages and cities and spread in ever widening circles wherever prosperous farmers were found. This change continued on through the second period of expansion. As to the nature of the change we noted in Chapter I that the farmer had the nature configuration more pronounced than his wife, in whose character the primarily social dispositions were more developed. Consequently husband and wife reacted differently to the increasing social stimulation of the villages and cities. The husband was prejudiced against it while the wife was more open to it.

Aside from the fact that the farmer's attitudes are more contrary to social life than are those of his wife, another consideration is that his work affords him more satisfaction than hers affords her. He

passes from one job to another and has the satisfaction of producing something—milk, crops, fruit. She produces nothing—so it seems to her—but merely does the chamber work, the laundry work, the cleaning, and spends an hour cooking a meal that disappears in fifteen minutes. A good deal of her time seems to be spent in just removing dirt from clothing, from dishes, from furniture and floors. A third consideration is that the farmer receives money for his work and has the satisfaction of ownership while she gets nothing at all. Consequently he decides as to farm finances and she suffers "not only from the limitations due to ignorance and lack of skill in her work, but from this subservience to an external authority." [1]

The inevitable result of the unsatisfyingness of woman's work and position has been that, in prosperous farming sections, farm women who live near villages and cities have been more susceptible to the new social life than have their husbands. They have read of it in the newspapers, and in the women's magazines with their mass of matter on stylish dressing and house furnishings. If a woman's husband was a prosperous farmer she felt impulses stirring within her. "Why should I be drudging here while other women have these things?" She felt the impulse to have dresses as nice as village women's and to attend their card parties. She could easily make herself feel that she owed it to her children to make something of herself socially. When her daughter came home from school and suggested that they should have certain new house furnishings, she felt her daughter ought to know. Thus, in many cases, there developed a strain in the relation between the farmer and his family. His wife found the village social life more satisfying than he did. A farmer feels uncomfortable in a dress suit. He realizes his manners and expressions do not fit into the gush and small talk of a parlor. The new social life is contrary to attitudes that have characterized the farmer from the beginning. It is expensive and contrary to his thrift. The social occasion is contrary to his attitude of sincerity and directness in speech and to his sense of equality. In the early days every person of good character in the neighborhood was invited to the social functions. Today only prosperous farmers and farmers' wives are wanted or can afford to attend the village functions.

The new social life is essentially a yielding to impulse, not a result of deliberation, though justifying ideas may be given. It is a good deal due to the influence of sons or daughters away at school and that influence is impulsive. Farmers' girls away at school usually

did not have any allowance until they went away. Their one aim at school is to "keep up with" the girls from the villages and cities. The new furniture and other changes in the home that they suggest are due to these village and city influences, experienced in the school. When the matter of having the expensive new things is taken up with the husband and father, the interchange takes the form not of frank discussion but of an impulsive expression of wants on the one hand and an assertion of contrary attitudes on the other. Often the wife knows better than to enter into any discussion at all but aims to attain her ends in a roundabout way. This sometimes leads to deceit. The outstanding fact in all this is that farmers' wives are more and more questioning the husband's traditional right to sole ownership of the family income. They say, "If the wife works, as well as the husband, why should not she have her share of the income?" On the other hand, the husband maintains that the wife is impulsive and not sensible in her wants. He realizes that he carries the responsibility of the farm enterprise and, as a matter of fact, the wife, even though she may work up to the limit of her strength, looks to him to take the ultimate responsibility. He is the provider, for the present and the future. The habit of thrift is ingrained in him in the process of work for, from the time he plants the seed, he is cherishing a crop. So he feels that his responsibility and his character require him to stand for the traditional self-restraint in the family.

However, in a good many cases not only the wife but also the husband is less set in self-restraint and other rural attitudes than formerly. Many farmer boys have been away to school and have had an allowance. In school they were subject to village and city influences. The result is that many of the young farmers in a prosperous farming section are much different from the older generation. The young farmers will "dress up" when they go to the village on business, will cultivate the manners of village men, will join the village men's club. They will borrow money in order to indulge in some pleasure, for instance, to take a trip. To the older generation this is disgraceful behavior. As the older generation justifies its thrift by various phrases, so does the younger its extravagance, for instance, "You cannot take anything to the grave with you." So the older worries about the younger generation and wonders what will become of them if ever sickness or accident raises a need of reserve funds.

In some communities this impulsiveness of the younger generation, particularly of farm women, seems to have been merely a first stage

in breaking away from the isolated and restrained life of the past. Women later came to feel that they were not justified in spending so much time in frivolity. When girls went away to school these women would sometimes say, "Don't come back and do nothing but play cards." So there developed impulses for an education which would teach women a better use of their time. The most thoughtful men, also, in these prosperous sections of the state, are turning to education as the means of salvation of the young, without, however, being entirely sure about the beneficent results of education. They want their children to be less impulsive and more thoughtful. The farmer says to his daughter, as the reason for wanting her to have an education, "I want you to be a better woman than you would be without it." Most farmers, however, take little interest in the education of their daughters as compared with that of their sons. They say, "The time when a man could make money by hard work and endurance is past. Now it takes brains." And they are equally sure of the need of education to enable a man to keep his money once he has made it, that is, to avoid bad investments. In addition to these reasons for prizing education there is the feeling that a boy needs it to improve the quality of his life in order to keep him from being carried away by mere impulses for pleasure.

These changes in the relations of the rural family apply only to prosperous farmers whose families have fallen under village and city influences. The great mass of farmers are not prosperous and consequently their attitudes do not change as rapidly as the attitudes of those who are. Among all farmers, however, it is true that rural customs are changing more than formerly; consequently there is more opportunity for disagreement between husband and wife. For instance, what they shall do on Sunday, whether go to church or take a motor trip, is now a matter of discussion, whereas in the past they attended church without any question. Again, they may differ very much on the bringing up of the children—what money they shall be allowed to have, whether they may take the automobile, how much they may have to do with the young people of the village, how much work they should do on the farm, how they shall be educated. There is opportunity for difference of opinion at many points because of the trend away from customary behavior.

Among all farmers, also, whether prosperous or not, there are differences of character between husband and wife that make for disagreement. The husband has the attitudes developed in the practice of

agriculture. He has defied the village ways more than his wife; has taken pride in opposing his vigor, rigor, coarse clothing, rough manner of living, unpretentious ways to the smoothness and pretense of the village. And when the village influence begins to invade his own household this aloof attitude is accentuated. So we come back to the essential difference between the farmer and his wife. His is the nature configuration; and though she is under this rural influence, in her the social impulses are more pronounced.

This difference between the characters of the two results in a difference in their attitude to their children. The early farmer was likely to treat his children as workers while the mother was more likely to treat them as children. The drudgery of farm life under the old conditions left little opportunity for either parent to develop the finer side of parenthood that grows out of sympathetic relations with their children. Still these relations were often seen between mother and children and sometimes characterized the father. Increasing economic prosperity has made for more sympathetic relations between parents and children, but the nature configuration of the farmer, as compared with the social impulses of his wife, results in a wide difference in their attitude to their children. This shows itself often in a difference of opinion concerning their education, particularly that of the girls. A much larger proportion of farmers than formerly think they can afford to give the boys some higher education. But, as to the girls, they will be getting married, so it would be a waste of money. The essential reason for the difference of opinion is that, to many farmers, the main benefit of education is that it prepares one for one's vocation, while, to the farmer's wife, it has some other advantages. Thus the farmer thinks that if a girl comes home from school and cannot cook a good meal her education has not amounted to much, while the mother maintains that a woman can learn to do housework if she has to, and will comment on a college girl's display of her skill in cooking, "That's nice but we didn't send you to college for that." What the mother has in mind in wanting the girl educated is that she will thereby have a chance to meet young men other than farmers and so to choose to better advantage as to whom she will marry. Also she thinks that, with an education, a girl will be "more independent," that is, not so eager to get married and better able to make her life interesting whether married or single. She dreads the thought of her daughter's "taking up with" an inferior man. Then too the farmer's wife is quite likely to think that the business or professional

man's wife has more of the material means of happiness, more leisure and social contacts than she and to wish for her daughter a life of that kind. The farmer's wife is more social than the farmer, who is absorbed in his work, and she looks at her daughter's future from that point of view, while he looks at it from the point of view of his own attitudes. He declares that the city boy lacks the strong qualities of the farmer boy. "Your city fellow can't work. What he can give a wife doesn't amount to anything compared with the loyalty and good honest qualities of the farmer boy." So he disagrees with his wife on the advisability of the daughter's going to school in order to meet boys who are going into other vocations. His wife agrees with him on one point, that city boys may be more fickle than country boys; but she has the fond belief that her daughter may choose a loyal one. The differences between husband and wife on the ethics of the relation between young people often increases their disagreement. For instance, the husband sometimes maintains that a girl should keep her promise to marry a man even if she finds she does not want to, while the wife maintains she is not bound by her promise. The farmer follows his economic attitude of honor in this opinion and the wife follows her common sense. Her aim is to see her daughter happily married, not unhappy because of a promise.

We have gone far enough to show how the opinions of the farmer and those of his wife on a vital matter may proceed from such diverse attitudes as to make understanding and agreement impossible. The interchange is likely to take the form of the assertion of contrary opinions suggested by their differing attitudes, with such observations as they calculate may impress the other. The farmer is moved mainly by the practical attitude to education and so maintains that it may be necessary for the boy, who is to support a family, but is unnecessary for the girl. She will ultimately get married and can learn to be a housewife in the home. There is something selfish in the farmer's attitude to his girls. Often he wants to keep his children near him and so prefers to have his daughters marry farmers, while the mother is more likely unselfishly to seek the girl's happiness. However, the farmer's attitude is not entirely selfish. He has noticed the tendency of girls who have been away to school, when married to a farmer who has not, to feel above him, and he can think of nothing more exasperating to a young farmer, nothing more fatal to marital happiness than to have a "stuck-up" wife. There is still another idea in his mind. He is mindful of the sexual and economic subjection of

the wife and suspects that education may encourage too much female independence in girls.

We turn now to changes in the relations between parents and children. The early rural family was an economic enterprise. The father and mother were directors of the work of their children and were strict disciplinarians. The father ruled his family rigorously, priding himself on the amount of work his wife could do, on her economy and efficient management, and on the amount he could "get out of" his boys. The whole scheme of rural morality centered around the daily work. The emphasis was on the restraint of impulses that interfered with work. Every habit was as important as every other in the sense that it was thought that a let up in any one would encourage a general weakening of self-restraint. There was always this sense of opposition between the morality of the community and the impulses of the "natural man." The minister was constantly warning against "a letting down" in morals and he echoed the attitude of the austere parent. Thus the morality of the community had a fixity that reflected the rigidity of the attitudes of the man of action before the stern demands made on him by his economic situation. Farming is still conducted on a family basis. "Farms in America are organized on a basis of the labor of one family with some hired help . . . a family is usually necessary for the most economic operation of a farm. Very few farm operators are unmarried, and they are usually found to be young men whose mothers or sisters are keeping house for them. Children are likely to be an asset on a farm because there is so much work to be done that children can do." [2] The farmer is the leader of the enterprise. His attitude still is to hold children up to the mark in the performance of tasks assigned because it is thought to be for their good. But boys will not exert themselves as they used to. This increasing independence of boys is due to the influence of the modern hired man, and to contact with village boys who do little or no work for their fathers. Farmers' sons do not see why their father should require so much more than village fathers do.

Another reason for the waning authority of the father is that, as a farmer, he has less prestige and hence less authority in his family than he had in the early days. Except in the case of prosperous farmers, the more conspicuous financial success of men in other callings has made the vocation of farmer almost a reproach. His children more often than formerly are looking forward to not being farmers

or farmers' wives. In many rural sections adjacent to villages and cities the farmer's position in his family has become much like the factory laborer's position in his. That is, though he may be industrious and kind and respectable and may support his family according to the farmer's standard, he is looked upon by his children as inferior to the better dressed and more prosperous village man. Consequently, they have a certain contempt for his advice, his opinions and his assumption of authority over them. This situation is found, not only in the families of the rank and file, but sometimes in the most prosperous, and where the farmer is a man of such intelligence and constructive imagination as to be a leader in a coöperative enterprise. In some unaccountable way, which the father is at a loss to explain, the son gets the idea that his father is a back number and that the thing for him to do is to get off the farm and make his way in the city. Sometimes these boys learn their lesson and are glad to come back to the home community and settle down.

The diminishing authority of the father is due also to the increasing indifference to religion. The religion of the early period emphasized the authority of the father. "Honor thy father and thy mother" was a text frequently expounded. Today less is said by the minister on this subject. Furthermore, whatever is said from the pulpit on any subject impresses children less than in the early days. As religion has less effect on family relations, so the family does less to emphasize religion. In the early days the children's welfare was felt to depend a good deal on their getting thoroughly converted. For the time would come when they would no longer be under the control of their parents and their success would depend on their power independently to live a sober, righteous and godly life. As one mother said, "If God gets hold of them they are safe." Today the welfare of children is commonly felt to depend less on religious experience than on education. Parents approve of the influence of the church but children are not compelled to go as formerly. In some sections of the state parents still require their children to go to Sunday school. The feeling is that this service is especially for the children and that it is in the Sunday school that they learn lessons of self-restraint and conscientious behavior. But the drift among the rural population is away from the church, particularly since the automobile has enabled the whole family to use the day for picnics and trips to distant places.

Children are less exclusively under the influence of parents than

formerly. Especially are they subject to the influences of the adjacent village or city. They compare their parents with village fathers and mothers, unconsciously perhaps more than consciously, and judge them by superficial standards. Often children do not like their parents' dress. They do not like to see the father around in his old clothes evenings and on Sunday. Particularly they notice the rustic manners of their parents.[3] This effect on family relations of touch with the village and city is by no means uniform. There are two main effects. Children who are temperamentally more assertive than sympathetic are annoyed by their family's lack of evidences of financial and social success. On the other hand, the sympathetic child is drawn toward parents because of their simplicity and homely dress and ways and often feels on this account a dislike of the superficialities of social superiority. Genuine, whole-souled loyalty is comparatively rare because of this requirement of fine sympathy. The coarser susceptibility to evidences of financial superiority and to attractive dress and engaging manners is more common.

The strain between parents and children is, however, often seen in the case of the finest type of child. In this case it is usually due to the fact that the child has acquired ideas, in school or college, that are contrary to the beliefs of the parents. The child's subjection to the authority of the parents from its earliest years has involved acceptance of the parental beliefs, and changing ideas of children are a new situation for the parent. His reaction depends on the type of man he is. A farmer of the dominating type,[4] when a child mentions an idea that contradicts some cherished belief, is likely to dismiss it indignantly or with ridicule. Or, if he is afraid of losing his hold on the child by this behavior, he may try argument and persuasion. A father who is more rivalrous[5] than dominating is proud of a bright child and will tolerate a good many opposing ideas because of his pride in one who is such a credit to the family. A farmer who is sympathetic and constructive tries to think with his children and justly to weigh the new ideas. The situation is somewhat serious for any type of farmer because the child has the advantage of being in school or college, at the supposed fountain head of knowledge. Then, too, children are quite likely to tell of new ideas just because they are new and contradict some cherished belief, without giving the setting in which they got the idea from the teacher. Possibly they entirely missed the conception of which the idea was a part. Thus

the father or mother may miss the wider meaning of the idea and so an argument may result, which would not have occurred if the whole conception had been before them.

In order to appreciate the significance of the weakening of parental authority we must remember that the early family was an economic group and the training of the children centered around their function as workers in the family enterprise. The moral traits and virtues —self-reliance, thrift, endurance, self-restraint, a readiness to help others—were inculcated, not merely in Sunday School but constantly and unconsciously in the course of the day's work; so these virtues were not merely names but attitudes worked into the child's character in the process of its functioning as a member of the group. Today the child is, sooner or later, a member of an outside school group and its interest centers more in the school than in the family. The home is not an enterprise for all but a place where the child comes to get a meal after a day of school or pleasure, this followed by an evening out. The farmer does not like this change in the family life and he tries to continue the moral training of the early days. The dominating type of farmer is likely to fail because he acts without thought, according to his traditional attitudes. The rivalrous type is likely to let things drift as long as the behavior of his children does not injure the standing of the family in the community. The constructive type tries to understand the different situation of his children as compared with his own when he was young and to modify his own attitudes and train theirs with a view to their welfare in the new conditions. A farmer of this latter type, in answer to the question whether children are harder to manage than formerly, replied: "Children think more than they used to and we've got to think with them. If we do that, we don't have so much trouble." This man's religion was the religion of conscience described in the next chapter. He said, "Sometimes when I'm rushed with work and have a lot of men working for me and it seems as if they ought to take more interest than they do, I pray, 'Oh Lord, help me to see these things through their eyes.' " To put yourself in another's place requires a constructive mind and the man capable of it in his relations with his wife, his children, his hired men, his neighbors, reduces to a minimum the strain that is inevitable in our changing social relations.

The dominating or "set" type of farmer has his mind primarily on his enterprise, not on his children. The children have their own interests—new pleasures or some educational ambition and are not

interested in the father's enterprise. He does not understand them and they do not understand him. There is misunderstanding all around and it is more serious than formerly because the children are so subject to outside and contrary influences. The rivalrous type of farmer is likely to be prosperous and his ambition has been stirred by prosperity. This type aspires for the social recognition that is gained by having a superior standard of living. And this aspiration is in line with other impulses. Many of these farmers were brought up very strictly and when they married and became prosperous and had children, in their reaction against their own strict up-bringing they made up their minds to "let the children have what they wanted," and not only this but to let them do, to a considerable extent, as they wanted to do. The result is a pampering of children, who are thereby encouraged to yield to impulse instead of maintaining the traditional self-restraint, and this attitude spreads from prosperous families to families not prosperous and infects whole communities. A farmer does not like to see his prosperous neighbor go by in a fine automobile when he has only a Ford. So he "puts a plaster on his farm" and raises the money for a fine car. The influence of the more prosperous families in some communities also has resulted in what is called in the community "a craze on education." That is, farmers are going further than ever before in giving their children higher education, sometimes sacrificing the financial needs of the farm or borrowing the money. The "craze on education" is, in some instances, influenced by a "craze on autos." Where a farmer is known to have borrowed money to buy a new and more expensive automobile to please a son or daughter, another farmer's wife argues, "If Jones went into debt to buy an automobile for Nell, we ought to be willing to do it to educate Nan."

The dominating or "set" type of farmer has the reserve and averseness to discussion that characterized the early farmer. He tends to decide questions alone by himself, without discussion with other members of the family, and to follow traditional attitudes in reaching decisions. First, let us note the tendency to decide questions alone. This is a pronounced attitude of the farmer and he takes his time about it. The family may be eager for him to make up his mind but knows better than to urge him or to try to discuss the matter with him. When he makes up his mind he is likely to announce his decision without giving any reasons for it. The family is expected to abide by his decision without asking his reasons. This is the farmer's

traditional attitude as director of the work of the family and sole custodian of its finances. To be sure, there are farmers who have cultivated the habit of taking their children into their confidence in reaching decisions and of explaining their reasons for thinking thus and so. But the traditional attitude still widely prevails. Children exclaim, "Why don't father explain the reason for wanting us to do" this and that! "It would be so much more pleasant to do if we understood the reason for it." The acquiescence of children is less unquestioning than formerly. This change of attitude is in some cases due to the influence of the mother's changing attitude. It is due also to the same conditions that have changed her attitudes, that is, to the influence of contact with the villages and of education. The school teacher is not as dogmatic as formerly. When asked why, she often will vouchsafe an explanation and so the school gives some little encouragement to free inquiry. Consequently the trend is against the traditional acquiescence in the paternal say-so. Hence the increasing strain between parents and children. Usually parents do not understand the significance of all this. They do not appreciate the new influences at work on their children, nor do they realize how entirely their own opinions are determined by their traditional attitudes. While farmers are being interested in scientific farming and coöperation in order to increase their income, there is no effort being made by any rural agency to enable them to understand what is more important for their peace of mind and progress than increased income, that is, to understand their own attitudes and the new conditions to which they and their children must adjust themselves. We ought to make a beginning here and this book is an attempt to make just such a beginning. Intelligent opinions cannot be formed until the attitudes that determine the premises of beliefs are understood.

Their attitudes constitute the background of their lives and yet they have not reflected enough on this background to realize its nature and limitations. Without any reflection at all parents' approve or disapprove of their children's impulses according as these are in conformity with or contrary to their attitudes. A child who proposes to do something that is disapproved is told, "That isn't the way I was brought up." Thus the parent admits that his ruling is determined by a traditional attitude. If a child objects that a way of doing of the past may not be suited to present conditions, some such reply as this is forthcoming: "Conditions may change but human nature never does." If the boy retorts that when he is of age he will do

as he pleases, the answer may be, "Oh, you're getting to be a socialist, are you!" To the farmers, in some sections at least, a socialist is one who disregards established ways of doing and sets his own impulse against established ways. Socialist is a contemned word which the parent applies to the non-conformist and he repeats it until the child is thoroughly humiliated. Thus the parent persists in impressing his attitudes on the child.

The farmer has the best kind of a case for many of his attitudes, providing he is discriminating in their application. Self-reliance, independence, self-restraint, industriousness, persistence, courage, thrift, ingenuity, generosity, honesty, honor, sincerity, strength of conviction, reverence,—these and other attitudes are as much as ever the basis of social relations. But necessary modifications before particular situations should be recognized. The unthinking farmer calls this compromising but it is merely common-sense adjustment. The farmer should recognize also that there are attitudes that are becoming more and more contrary to well being—self-centeredness, stubbornness, reliance on formulas, insistence on petty "rights," sectarianism, partisanship. It strengthens the case of attitudes that are important for social progress to recognize those that are not.

The inclination of parents to expect children to "respect" their attitudes and beliefs is, of course, justified to a certain extent. Children easily become conceited and addicted to argument. This disturbs the peace of the home without getting anywhere. On the other hand, parents are too likely to insist on docility with respect to every parental belief. This authoritative attitude is more likely to characterize the farmer than men in some other occupations because he is so constantly with his family and is director of the work of the members. It is not to be denied that as director of work he must decide what is to be done and give orders and have them obeyed. Furthermore, in the bringing up of children, whether they work with the parents or not, they have to be made to do or not to do this or that. It is in this way that they form desirable habits. But the mistake made is not in fostering certain habits, the wisdom of which is unquestionable, but in compelling adherence to beliefs on which there is a marked difference of opinion. There is no question that a child should be compelled to be orderly, not to throw clothing wherever it happens to be taken off; that it should be compelled to observe certain manners at table. But it is more open to question whether it should be expected to accept the political and religious beliefs of parents with-

out question. When one considers that a child is one day to become a man or woman and to go out from under the parental roof and form his or her own opinions, a parent may well pause before approving a child's unquestioning acceptance of his beliefs. This implies an attitude of docility which will hardly adapt a child to the complex and contradictory world. Is it not better to impress a child with its responsibility to form true opinions and to become a person of fidelity to conviction?

Rural conditions favor an ideal family life. The fact that the farm remains a family enterprise makes possible "a family bond which does not ordinarily exist where the business or employment of the father and of other members of the family is dissociated from the home."[6] Family life "means more" in the country than in the city, because the family is more isolated and the members are more dependent on each other for their happiness. If the relations of the rural family are annoying, the members cannot get away from the annoyance as easily as in the city. Unpleasant relations may cause children to leave home when, in many cases, they are better fitted for farm life than for any other. The problem of the adjustment of the rural family is, therefore, a vital one and rural leaders should take it up, particularly the rural clergymen. Pastoral work too often degenerates into sentimental "Christian nurture." The minister should be an intimate and far-seeing friend and the family should get, through association with him, a will to agree and an insight into one another's viewpoint. The work of the teacher, also, in this connection has not been emphasized as it should be. She is in constant contact with the children and so is in a position tactfully to shape their relations with their parents.[7] She approaches the subject not from the point of view either of parents or of children but from that of the relation of the family to society. Parents owe it to their children to give them opportunities for finding their niche in society, which they can best do through an efficient system of education; and children owe their parents loyalty and affection. Now the most difficult part of the teacher's task is not to make this conception of mutual obligation understood but to free it of its grossly material implications. To parents and children alike the proper niche in society is likely to mean the one best paid. Parents are too inclined narrowly to evaluate education according to its material benefits as they conceive them and children to follow the lure of the material side of life to the detriment of loyalty and affection. However, the teacher has the children under her in-

fluence in their most impressionable years. If properly trained herself, she will try to disengage the minds of both children and parents from the somewhat distorted life purpose that is inevitable among a population which, generation after generation, has been absorbed in the production of material things, and is constantly subject to the materialistic influences of the villages and cities.

CHAPTER XXIII

CHANGES IN RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

THIS chapter is concerned mainly with changes in religious attitudes, not with an analysis of the religious consciousness of the rural community. The attitudes of the rank and file are less vividly conscious than the religious experiences of the spiritual person. Changes in attitudes are not uniform but differ as between different communities. A certain attitude, for instance, an attitude for strict Sabbath observance, often seems to prevail throughout a community, to be sure, not without exceptions, and a laxity in Sabbath keeping throughout another community. The marked difference between the attitudes of two adjoining communities may be a matter of common observation. In other cases there is no such uniformity. With a sufficient number of communities in mind it is possible to make some generalizations as to trend.

The closing of rural meeting houses that had begun before the period of expansion went on during that period owing to the decreased population of the rural districts, particularly of the Protestant population of the hill country,[1] and owing also to the desire of farmers near villages to attend the village churches. The result was that a smaller percentage of farmers attended church than before. The farm populations surrounding many of these abandoned meeting houses is not financially able to support a resident pastor and cannot get to village churches regularly in fall, winter and spring because of the condition of the roads. Consequently these populations have apparently become indifferent to church services. In recent years some village churches have begun to hold meetings in these abandoned meeting houses and to endeavor to make them social centers for the surrounding population. The aim is to induce village people to come out and join in these services and in the social enterprises and so to bring country and village together and reduce the antagonism between the two sections. Also it is hoped to make the church an educational center where speakers may meet the farmers and discuss with them the broad aspects of their political and economic problems. The great obstacle

to this work is that in many villages there are so many Protestant churches that each of them leads a precarious existence and lacks the leadership and the resources that are necessary to do extension work. The first step in the progress of the village church is a wise consolidation of churches. And on this depends the revival of religion throughout the rural districts.

Not all rural churches have closed their doors; and village churches have farmers in their memberships. Our analysis of changes in religious attitudes is of changes in these rural churches and rural memberships of village churches. The essential change in both the rural and the village church during the last fifty years is that it is a less distinct configuration than formerly. There is less distinction between the church and "the world" in attitude and belief and the members of the church are less united in their theological beliefs and in their opinions as to what constitutes Christian conduct. Consequently the feeling of "brothers and sisters in Christ" is weaker than formerly, and the church is less of a unit in its attitude against outsiders. Furthermore, the members of the rural church of today do not do things together so much as formerly. Its social undertakings are less "social events" for all the members; and its meetings for worship are regularly attended by a smaller percentage of the membership. While the requirement of assent to all the beliefs of the creed was more emphasized in the early days than today, the essential thing even in the early days was doing things together. If a man who was not a church member regularly attended the meetings for worship and the social gatherings and said nothing against the creed, while it was regretted that he was not "a professing Christian," his attendance at church meant an outward assent at least. Whatever he might believe he refrained from stating his beliefs and acted with the church members. Today the necessity even of outward assent is less emphasized than in the early days. It is widely maintained, even by ministers, that a person need not believe all the creed in order to join the church. The main thing is formally to assent to certain beliefs, for instance, the belief in God and in a future life, and then to join the church, contribute to it and take part in its activities. Essential in the activities is public worship, and the belief emphasized above all others is the belief most directly involved in worship, that is, the belief in God.

This was also the essential belief of the religion of the early days. The religious tradition of our rural heritage was predominantly Calvinistic.[2] God's all-seeing eye was on the children of men and

their behavior must be well pleasing to Him. Thus all right behavior was in a sense religious; the daily moral life of the members of the neighborhood was a religious doing things together. The censorship of morals exercised by the church increased its importance as a social configuration, and reacted on the church as a distinct configuration, for those who did not meet its moral requirements were excluded from membership. The church weakened as a moral force in the period of expansion, until it became a common saying that "today you can't see much difference between the behavior of church members and those outside."

The importance of the Calvinistic theology in the early days cannot be realized without considering the conditions in Europe when it came to power. The emancipation of the serfs was taking place. The heretofore stable rural relations were breaking up. Men were migrating from one rural district to another and to the cities and across the seas. The newly freed masses must be controlled, but controlled from within. The individual must be brought face to face with his God and made to feel his own personal accountability directly to God. In the freedom of the wilderness of the New World, Calvinism was an even more potent force for adjustment than in Europe, for survival required self-restraint and endurance, and Calvinism fostered stern self-restraint. Then came the great change in religion and morality in the period of expansion. The farmer developed new business contacts and acquired new pleasures; his interests became objective. Furthermore, scientific farming implies natural causes of processes once mysterious, causes that operate mechanically. The farmer began to lose his sense of the supernatural behind nature. His children came home from school with a new mechanistic theory of the universe that seemed to be held by the leading authorities. Furthermore, as pointed out in Chapter II, the leading exemplars in the community were the successful money makers, who, in their business dealings felt no humbling contact with supernatural forces, and whose families enjoyed ease, display and self-indulgence. The significance of this materialistic development for the religious doctrines of the early days cannot be over-estimated. It took people's minds off the Calvinistic theology. There was not any deliberation about it. The all-powerful theology just vanished away for the younger generation.

The new interest in the objective phases of experience has sapped the sense of mystery of the early days and weakened the attitude of reverence. The change is not due to the scientific attitude, of which

the rank and file of farmers know little or nothing, but to their absorption in the material side of life and in their immediate social contacts, that is, in the objective phases of human experience. Indeed, the scientific attitude conduces to reverence, for real students are, by scientific explanations, introduced to greater mysteries. But this age of the machine, of materialism and of excessive social life has taken the mystery out of life for many people. Public education could combat this tendency to a certain extent and inculcate reverence by the real teaching of science, for students of science know that the scientist works with mere assumptions and that, once we look into these, the mystery of things is as deep as ever. Boys and girls ought to acquire a genuine reverence through the study of science. Public education ought to aim not only to impart knowledge but more especially to inculcate the attitudes that make for improvement of the quality of life and one of these attitudes is reverence. If science were taught honestly by a competent teacher, that is, with the aim of showing not only what is known but also what is not known about the universe, the study would do much to inculcate reverence in the early years of life. The conceptions of science should be taught not as cut and dried knowledge but as conceptions involving assumptions that lie on the borderline between knowledge and the great mystery. Too often the mere names of assumptions are used to convey the impression of something known and settled. It may seem a novel position to take, that the religious attitude of reverence is to be revitalized by the honest teaching of science, but some of our greatest scientists have taken this position and there is no doubt of its truth. Reverence may be developed by injecting into the machine system of education that has developed in harmony with our machine age, studies of science taught in a way to stir the imagination. The most deplorable result of the machine age is that it deadens the imagination. A sense of mystery means an intellectual awareness of something yet to be looked into; and education should develop this attitude.

Another aspect of the teaching of science that has a religious bearing is the delineation of the scientist's loyalty to his ideas. This should be stressed with a view to inculcating in pupils the attitude of fidelity to conviction. If anywhere you find examples of fidelity to conviction, it is among the great scientists of the past. Religion means fidelity to ideals, not a mere profession of dogma. It is this that characterized the great religious leaders of the past, as well as the great scientists. Both alike disbelieved prevailing beliefs and stood for their convictions,

The weakening popular interest in religion is generally recognized and it is maintained that public education should include the teaching of religion. But can religion be taught in the public schools that we have? Can the distinctly religious attitudes of reverence and fidelity to conviction be instilled there? The answer cannot be given until we have analyzed the attitudes of public education.

The new age has weakened practically every religious attitude of our rural heritage. This is not in all cases to be deplored. Let us note certain changes. The essential religious ceremony of the early days was abstinence from work on Sunday. Practically all farmers abstained from work on Sunday. This is not true today. Few farmers make no difference at all between Sunday and weekdays but many use Sunday to "catch up on odd jobs," others to do special kinds of work as selling produce to tourists, while others use it as a day for visiting and pleasure. There are, of course, many farmers who keep the day in the old way by abstaining from all unnecessary work. However, most farmers interpret "works of necessity" more liberally than formerly, especially in rush seasons, and there are many who regularly work on Sunday. In this connection we note a situation in religion much like that in the family. As the father's authority has weakened in the family, so has the clergyman's in the community. In the early days the clergyman interpreted the Sabbath obligation for all and his strict interpretation was accepted. Today the farmer interprets it for himself instead of taking what the minister says. Fewer farmers know what the minister has to say about it than formerly because a smaller proportion attend church, at least among the Protestants, and those who attend are influenced by the independence of those who do not.

Another religious attitude of the early days was that of disapproval of worldliness. Church members generally opposed card-playing and dancing. This attitude was adaptive in that these amusements were largely confined to those in whose company they might lead to behavior that would unsettle the steady working habits whereby the individual was adapted to the strenuous life of a settler and farmer. Today the traditional attitude is no longer so clearly adaptive in that dancing and card-playing are widely prevalent means of harmless recreation. In fact the boy who is not allowed to participate in these amusements is thereby excluded from the prevailing social life of the community, and this may cause him to seek more questionable amusements. Aside from these unusual cases of harm resulting from the

austere attitude it is so evidently unnecessary and is so contrary to the prevailing practice that the church has practically ceased to attempt any restraint.

In social pleasure, as in Sabbath-keeping, the clergy have less authority than in the early period. People are lured by the spirit of the new age, the absorption in material things and social life, in the objective phases of experience to the exclusion of the spiritual. But many ministers hesitate to accept the challenge of materialism. Instead of raising the standard of ideals for the new age, they merely feel their failing prestige and often seek favorable attention by taking up some side line, for instance, if Masons, by giving a good deal of time to their lodge, or by becoming organizers of the Ku Klux Klan, or by taking a prominent part in community athletics or social life. Yet what rural people want is leadership in the spiritual life. Farmers are, to be sure, less isolated than formerly and they have more business and social interests so that they dwell less on the postulates of religion.[3] The decreasing interest in the subjective side of life is seen even in the most staunchly religious farmer. Yet he will tell you, if you ask him if farmers are as religious as they used to be, "I think they are as religious but they aren't so pious. Their religion is more a matter of Christian conduct." So this modern type of Christian farmer expects the minister first of all to be a man among men. He wants him interested in base-ball and out among the boys; interested in politics and able to preach intelligent sermons on politics; interested in coöperative enterprises and able to interpret the relation of the coöperative movement to the spiritual life. That is, the religious farmer has aspirations toward a spiritual life, but he wants less theology and more light on problems. He wants ideas and ideals and he wants a minister who will inspire his people with fidelity to ideals. I am speaking of a certain type of farmer, the genuinely religious type.

The objectivity of the interests of farmers today as compared with the subjectivity of the past cannot be over emphasized. It comes out in various ways. For instance, in many communities farmers have noticed that the attendance at funerals is less than it used to be. Especially in the busy season the funeral of a well-known farmer will have a small attendance. The attendance at funerals has at least two motives. One is the sense of the loss of the departed and the desire to acknowledge this by attending his funeral; another is the quickened realization of the uncertainty of life and the certainty of death, which gives pause to the daily preoccupation with "the things of time." It

is with the latter motive in mind that, after attending a funeral at which well-known farmers failed to appear, a farmer exclaimed, "Well, religion does not mean much to some people." The first mentioned motive, also, is weaker than it used to be. The funeral of an esteemed citizen of long standing heretofore has been an occasion when the members of the community assembled to testify to their sense of loss. As people have become less group conscious and more intent on their individual affairs, the loss of a member has been less keenly felt. And, because of their absorption in business or pleasure, a death does not impress them with the uncertainty of life and the certainty of death as it used to. There is a growing tendency to be impatient with solemn occasions of any kind.

The far-reaching effect of the decrease in religious interest is evident when we consider that the influence of religion has extended over the whole social organization. In the family it gave an assurance of a future life and of "an unbroken family" there, and this glad expectation centered the members on the behavior that was "well-pleasing to God." In the community the minister stood for the traditional morality and as God's representative proclaimed the religious sanctions of morality. In the nation the ministers proclaimed the "God of our fathers," and this belief gave the people a sense of security and an incentive to live according to the principles of national righteousness laid down. In addition to this influence of religion on the different configurations of the social organization, religion was also a personal matter. It satisfied cravings for rest in a life of over-work and cravings for sympathy in a life of self-denial. The mother whose sacrifices for her family were not appreciated found a quiet joy in the thought that "God knows." This personal function of religion has become more important as compared with the institutional. For as the belief in a heaven where families shall be reunited has waned, as differences of opinion have arisen as to what is right behavior in the community so that even the minister is hesitant and equivocal, as radical differences of opinion as to what constitutes national righteousness have arisen, the prestige of religion as the sanction of right behavior in these various groups has come to be more lightly regarded, and we hear it said more and more that "religion is a personal matter." Thus, the differentiation between institutional and personal religion noted in *Our Rural Heritage* has widened.

Church attendance as an obligation, where personal devotion is not necessarily felt, is less common among Protestants than formerly

though Catholics are still uniformly moved by this motive of institutional religion. So what we shall say about changes in religious attitudes is said with Protestants rather than Catholics in mind. Personal religion is cultivated for solace in trial and as an incentive to conscientious behavior. The latter motive will be described in succeeding paragraphs; it is the most significant aspect of rural religion at the present time. The cultivation of this ethical aspect of religion may eventually result in a reconstruction of family, community and national morality according to religious principles, that is, as a working out of sympathy and other dispositions that always have furnished the incentive to religious ideals but were suppressed by the prevailing or "worldly" dispositions. Only as our morality is changed as the result of the operation of sympathy and intelligence in behavior can religion sanction the prevailing morality. And probably always, at least as far as we can see into the future, religion will continue to be essentially a fidelity to ideals which are not yet realized in the existing morality.

Having depicted certain broad aspects of recent changes in religious attitudes, we note that some of the aspects of early religion have survived in spite of these changes. Many farmers still believe in special providence. If the farmer prays for something and does not get it, sometimes he sees later why it was for the best. If he does not he assumes it is because of his shortsightedness. So, whether his prayer is answered or not, the event seems to verify his belief in special providence. The belief has pretty much disappeared in connection with the weather, but it persists in connection with processes which are not yet generally thought to be determined by natural law. Economic processes come in this category. Periods of prosperity and especially of depression are by many farmers still regarded as providential. The depression of 1920–1923 was interpreted by some farmers to mean that men "get their pay in this life" for disregarding God. If you objected, "But the depression fell on the just as well as on the unjust," the farmer was silent but he believed it providential just the same. Of course it is hardly possible to believe in special providence as implicitly in connection with prices, as of old in connection with the weather and the yield of crops, for it is evident even to the least informed that objective conditions have a good deal to do with prices. But a widespread depression in prices is by many farmers ascribed to supernatural causes.

Prayer has, however, come to look less to the bringing of worldly

affairs into accord with man's desires and more to the reconciliation of man to his lot. To be sure, resignation always has been one of the central attitudes of rural religion; it has become for many farmers the one attitude of prayer. Among others prayer has developed into a means of social adjustment. For instance, one sometimes hears such a person exclaim, "Don't talk about people's faults. It isn't good for you and it isn't good for them. When you see their faults, pray for them." This sympathetic attitude makes for social adjustment. Genuine prayer illumines the farmer's understanding in situations before which he otherwise would merely react according to traditional attitudes. In the troubles of life, for instance, family troubles, farmers have learned that prayer stays their anger-provoking cocksureness; so they can see that the beneficial effects of prayer on themselves affect other members of the family. Prayer is necessary also in connection with problems outside the family circle. Courage to face facts that are contrary to one's beliefs and insight for the interpretation of facts come with genuine prayer. The growing intolerance described in a succeeding chapter evidences a lack of this habit of exercise of the sympathetic or constructive imagination. It can be acquired under wise education beginning in childhood.

The belief in eternal punishment seems to have passed among a large proportion of Protestants. At least they will not stand for it as they once did though it may not be explicitly denied. An extreme belief like that was due to the insistence of the clergy and it ceased to arouse interest when the authority of the clergy weakened. In the old days its persistence was due partly to the fact that, as an unpleasant idea, it was seldom mentioned among the people except in the excitement of a revival when discussion was impossible. Because discussion of it was avoided, it was accepted from mere lack of criticism. With the waning of revivals eternal punishment was less dwelt on by the clergy. As old residents say, "Hell isn't half as hot a place as it was fifty years ago." It began to lose its terrors for the young in the first period of expansion and these young had become the parents in the second.

We are now beginning to appreciate the complexity of the problem before the rural clergymen. First, there is the decreased interest of the farmers as a whole in the subjective as compared with the objective phases of experience, and the absorption of many in the materialistic and social side of life. Second, there is the great diversity in the religious beliefs of different families, even of those who attend the

same church. Third, many ministers have villagers as well as farmers in their congregations and the farmers differ from the villagers in many of their attitudes. Fourth, as already noted, the farmer judges the behavior and utterances of others, including ministers, according to his own attitudes. For many farmers the clergyman of today falls short as compared with the old clergyman. Sometimes he fails to measure up to rural sincerity. Clergymen do not as firmly believe the traditional system of doctrine as formerly, and their hesitant, apologetic attitude in connection with certain doctrines does not impress the farmer favorably. He expects the clergyman to know what he believes and to be out and out in declaring it. Because of the weakening faith in doctrines clergymen preach less "doctrinal" and more "popular" sermons than formerly. They seek to popularize sermons, especially for the village people in their congregations, by bringing in current events and quoting poetry. Though the farmer is interested in the problems of the time, he does not like superficial talk about current events, in the pulpit, and he does not care for poetry. Clergymen seek popularity, also, by belonging to the social organizations. Now to the religious farmer the minister is not primarily a social man; he is a spiritual leader, and the merely social clergyman seems to him insincere. However, the farmer is not apt to criticise the minister very much. He respects the calling if not the man, and will frown on anything said by his children in disparagement of the minister.

During the World War there was an increased interest in the church and this together with the prosperity of the war period resulted in "drives" for members and especially for funds. There seemed to be an increased emphasis on money-getting and less on soul-winning for it was noted that the old-time revivals occurred in fewer communities than before but the money drives were more extensive. The church seemed to outsiders to emphasize the need of money above everything else and thus to confess to a weakening of faith in supernatural aid. When this comment on the drives was made, the reply in one case was, "No, the drive shows a greater faith in supernatural aid, for what task could be more difficult than to get a contribution from you." This prominence of money projects and the business phraseology that crept into the accounts of the religious projects on foot gave the impression that the church was succumbing to the prestige of business enterprises. The business attitude of clergymen was in some instances calculated to meet the new rural situation. The economic interests of the farmers, because of the new organizations for scientific farming

and for coöperation, were coming to the fore as compared with the religious, and clergymen sought to give economic reasons for supporting the church. But religious farmers felt that religion was something apart from the material aspects of life. As they expressed it, "You can't pay for your religion." Even less religious farmers seemed to have an interest in the church other than economic and contributed because "it would be a disgrace to the community not to have a church." That is, to give up the church would be a surrender to the self-indulgent people, to the scoffers, to all the varied foes of sober and righteous living—a surrender that could not be contemplated. To others the church seemed to be one of the outstanding evidences of the existence of the community as such, so giving it up would mean giving up that which was the community's chief claim to recognition as a distinct social group. In addition to these reasons, which are not economic, giving to the church was justified on economic grounds, for instance, on the ground that the church makes the community a more desirable place to live in and, therefore, increases the value of property. However, the economic justifications often seemed to be merely considerations the farmer liked to have satisfied while he was really moved by another motive. Many farmers seem to be, deep down in their natures, "God-fearing" men, though they would not acknowledge it. But they are in the habit of wanting practical reasons for spending money and so the solicitor tried to give practical reasons and thought he got the subscription because he did so. This was true but at the same time he was mistaken in thinking that the practical reasons were the only considerations in the farmer's mind. He did not understand the real nature of the farmer. What the solicitor did was to satisfy the economic considerations which had been inhibiting the real urge, that is, the God-fearing attitude.

The God-fearing attitude lies back of rural morality. Rural people believe in conscience and in something back of conscience. This is implied in the injunction to children always to do what their conscience tells them, regardless of what man may say. It is maintained that, if a man can conscientiously feel that he did right in a certain situation and that he would act in the same way again in the same circumstances, then he did right according to his light, regardless of what people think. This is the moral attitude of the self-reliant farmer. He will admit that this conscientious attitude is not religion and will express the relation of conscience to religion something like this: "My religion is not my conscience but what lies back of my conscience." Beyond

that he is not likely to go unless he is a "professing Christian." But he will assent to the proposition that if a man trusts his conscience as implicitly as he has said he should, his attitude implies some guidance of conscience. This is where the God-fearing attitude comes in, though the farmer may not be very strongly conscious of having such an attitude. Professing Christians, however, feel quite certain that there is an unseen power that guides a man's behavior through his conscience. This ethical aspect of religion was over-shadowed, in the early days, by the interest in theology. That waning interest leaves the ethical aspect more pronounced. Religion is what lies back of conscience and conscience is in the foreground. This is not saying that the emphasis on conscientious behavior is any stronger than in the early days. It stands out because of the waning interest in other aspects of religion.

Right here in the development of conscience in adjustment to modern conditions lies the rural church's opportunity. The church's deliverances on conduct are likely to be pretty much in accord with the customary best practice of the community. The teachings of Christ "are not to be taken too literally." They are to be interpreted in a way to support the customary behavior. The general conformity to custom, in turn, often is justified on the ground that otherwise people will let themselves go impulsively. They are not capable of ordering their life independently according to ethical ideals, it is said. On the other hand many people are better than their social environment but are restrained from acting according to their good impulses because these are contrary to custom. It is the minister's function to encourage this kind of unconventional behavior and by his counsel to make it intelligent. For, unless some people behave better than the conventional behavior, this never will become better than it is. Conscientious behavior of this unconventional kind should extend beyond family and community life and influence opinions on national and international problems.

Though this ethical aspect of personal religion has been coming to the fore, the other aspect, that of religion as a solace, has by no means disappeared. In spite of the increasing objectivity of the farmer's interests, the thought of what follows this life is not obliterated. No matter how prosperous a man may be, prosperity and absorption in affairs and pleasures cannot quite close the mind to the swift passing of the years, to the certainty of death, the uncertainty as to what lies beyond. As men grow older and draw nearer that vast forever, the inevitable end of life becomes more impressive, so that the church's doctrine of a protecting God continues to invoke the attitudes of as-

sent and formal worship. The God-fearing man feels that in supporting the church he is "on the safe side"; that if there is anything in religion, then in any real need in this life he will have the help of God, and as to the future life, he is on the safe side there also. And there is for the bereaved the hope of a reunion with loved ones. I have sometimes been puzzled at the attitude of orthodox farmers toward spiritualism. While they would show some hostility at the mention of Catholics or Unitarians, they would not toward Spiritualists and would rebuke that attitude in children, though they forbade them to read Spiritualist books. While they did not want their children to abandon their own faith and become Spiritualists, yet their religion had a spiritualistic aspect, that is, an expectation of meeting loved ones after death. The isolation of the rural family and the consequent deep attachment of the members to one another has maintained this expectation, though it is less prevalent than formerly.

Next to the belief in God, therefore, as the essential belief of rural religion comes the belief in a future life. One of the essential functions of religion is to relieve from depression, to stimulate hopefulness and nothing has served this purpose in the past like the anticipation of another and better life. Contemplation of the other life, under the inspiration of religious symbols, cuts the worshiper loose for the time from the trials of this life. Rural people often say, "If we knew there was no life beyond this it wouldn't be worth the living." Optimism is a natural tendency of the healthy organism and this is developed in the farmer in various ways besides religion. The certain recurrence of the seasons reminds him that however bad the season, next year he may do better. Children are enjoined to look on the bright side and the example of parents stimulates this attitude. The farmer is as proud of his power to be hopeful under discouraging conditions as of his strength and endurance. While his appreciation of beauty is limited, the beauty of the life of a man always hopeful under difficulties thrills him. He likes to feel that, though his manner may be crude and rough, he is capable of something fine. Now the imagination serves this tendency for it supplies the imagery that gives normality to life. But most people do not have any considerable capacity of imagination. For them a set of religious beliefs conducive to hopefulness seems absolutely essential [4] and so religion has been the prime means of optimism. As far as we can see no possible improvements in the farmer's economic and social conditions would entirely do away with this need of religion. The great trials are bound

to come to all. Men and women grow old. Vitality ebbs. The children leave home. Man shares these conditions with all animal life and the isolation of rural life accentuates the depression of old age and bereavement. Before these inevitable occasions of depression the farmer must cultivate a sort of everyday idealism and this is done most effectively by means of religion. About the finest fruit of rural religion is the capacity persistently to see the bright side where an irreligious person cannot see one ray of hope. One finds this capacity throughout the population. A farmer had an invalid wife who was suffering from an incurable illness. For years he had cared for her in addition to doing his farm work. He was accustomed to make the most of every little hopeful element in a hopeless situation. His optimism kept him in health and efficiency and it was due entirely to his religion. It is evident, therefore, that religion as a solace has a deep ethical import. For what greater duty has one to one's fellow men than to maintain one's courage and poise before the most baffling situations?

It is interesting to trace the optimistic attitude as it has survived through the vicissitudes of religious doctrine. Farmers who seem to have no religious beliefs at all still have lingering evidences of this attitude, which is thrust forward before the most baffling situations. It is seen not only in their everyday problems but also in their discussion of situations before the nation. Talk with a farmer about the limited supply of coal and he may say, "Well now have you ever noticed that whenever we had any real need, there always was somebody smart enough to invent a way to supply it. So I think when the coal beds run out somebody will invent a new fuel." And he likes to cite historical proof that this attitude to the future is justified. He will take transportation, for instance, and go back as far as the invention of the locomotive and from there on down to the automobile. He will explain how, when the extension of railroads necessitated the telegraph and the telephone, they were invented, and when the increasing ocean transportation made necessary the wireless it was invented. Surely, he concludes, when the increasing population created a real need of better transportation and communication we got it. By his definition of real need he can rule out any unsatisfied need one may mention and so maintain his ancient attitude of confidence with regard to the future. This optimistic attitude is not necessarily adaptive. It makes it possible with resignation to see the coal beds and the forests wastefully exploited for private profit. It makes it possible for clergymen

to continue year after year to preach doctrines that the progress of thought has discredited, because men who no longer believe the doctrines maintain that they can worship in the church in spite of their unbelief. It is because something in the church services satisfies the ancient attitude of hopefulness. There, men are with others who have the same attitude and being together contributes to the frame of mind that satisfies it.

The reconstruction of religion is, therefore, a vital problem in rural development. This subject does not come within the scope of this chapter but certain psychological processes must be considered. We are concerned with the reconstruction of institutional religion. The church is to be made a definite social configuration. As such it must have distinctive attitudes. The members must be moved by these attitudes in a way that distinguishes them from outsiders. The distinctive attitude of the church is worship. The distinctive thing that church people do together is to assemble for worship. To be sure, they do other things together—have social times and undertake projects for the betterment of the community.[5] But this is not contrary to worship. A recent study of rural churches throughout the country, including churches in New York, has shown that worship is stimulated by the church's undertaking worth while projects for the advancement of the community. "Whether the devotional spirit of the services might have been weakened by the multiplicity of activities in the churches studied was a pressing question in the minds of the investigators. But the testimony of the field workers on this point was almost unanimous—the services of worship were found to fulfill their purpose. These churches surpass the average church in this part of their program as much as in their other activities." [6]

The church traditionally has been a group for worship above everything else and worship implies faith. Faith centers in personalities. It is because personalities take hold of the imagination. Now while the increase of interest in the objective side of life has diminished interest in beliefs about the supernatural, people still reverence a true life. One commonly finds rural people without much interest in theology who are tired of a world in which "there always seems to be somebody who is trying to get the start of somebody else," and who are really trying "to do as they would be done by," and who look to the Sermon on the Mount for inspiration and reverence Him who said those words because he lived them. This is religion. The function of religion is to sanction ethical behavior and make it com-

pelling. Worship and living the excellent life, the life that distinguishes them from outsiders, are the two main things that church members do together. The church must have leaders who can inspire this religious living. This is the essential condition of the reconstruction of the church. Ideals that do not bring money or recognition, that may involve loss of money and obloquy, must be made compelling.[7]

The chapter might properly end with this delineation of the religious attitudes of the people. For most rural people religion is a matter of attitude and belief, with little mystical sense of the supernatural. It is a matter of church attendance and the discharge of ecclesiastical obligations and of the moral living sanctioned by the church rather than of personal devotion. But there are unusually spiritual people who crave a sense of a personal relation with a personal source of inspiration. This relation may be largely one of feeling or it may have a pronounced ethical aspect. The frame of mind of those who make religion a vitally ethical matter seems inevitably to involve a personality at the center. Ethical ideas from childhood center around certain personalities, usually the parents, and character seems never to lose this particular pattern. The morality of adults is strengthened by association with some exemplary individual. But unusually spiritual people are not likely to find any satisfying exemplar. Then, too, all our personal relations are very uncertain. So a need is felt for communion with some great, ever-present, soul-satisfying personality. Really spiritual Christians believe in Christ as a Saviour, not in the theological sense of a Saviour from eternal punishment but as the unseen inspiration of the spiritual life. It steadies them to fix their minds on that belief. They call it their "anchor." The vital point in the belief is that Christ lived on earth as a man and so can understand the stress and the prayers of men and women. Christ is believed in not only as one whose earthly life and teachings inspire but as one whose living presence saves. Of course one often finds cases in which this belief functions to make people unduly patient and resigned when they should attempt to alter their conditions for the better. But it is found also in the most enterprising, the most sensitively independent and the most effectively fore-sighted men and women. For the student of rural psychology it is not a question as to the scientific foundation of the belief;[8] the point is that it exists far and wide among the most spiritual rural people.

This consciousness of a living Saviour is not a pose, though it may

be affected; for the vital consciousness of that presence in a crisis depends on living true to His life and teachings all the time. Those who merely profess this relationship find that they fail of a strong reaction in a crisis. At such a time the mind ranges over the past and recollections of loyal living strengthen the peace-giving attitudes of trust, hopefulness and resignation, while, in the case of those who have not lived true, consciousness of an empty profession results in a sense of a lack of vital touch with the unseen. Spiritual people, therefore, as they pass through one crisis after another, gradually learn the necessity of daily, devoted living if they are to be strong in the great moments of life. This is true of well-to-do and poor alike because all must meet suffering and endure it. It is of course less true of young than of older people because the young lack the requisite experience of crises. It is not true of the insensitive; it is the religion of sensitive and spiritual people.

Thus the belief in a living Saviour does not rest on the dogma of the virgin birth of Christ. Its vitality really springs from its functioning as the source of life giving attitudes. It is the source of faith and trust in ideals, of hopefulness, humility, resignation and good will toward men—attitudes that are not developed by the social contacts of "the world." Rural clergymen of insight see this distinction between the belief as a source of inspiration and the belief as a dogma that is dependent on other dogmas in the theological chain. But in the minds of most rural people and most clergymen it is almost always associated with dogma. Clergymen are likely to emphasize the belief in its connection with other dogmas, often because of those connections, instead of delineating its connections in the spiritual life of the individual. This is not necessarily due to lack of spiritual insight, though it may be, but to the fact that the religious consciousness we have described is extremely personal and clergymen preach to a mixed audience and so fall back on dogma.

Because religion is essentially an attitude for the protection and nurture of that sensitiveness, that appreciation of truth and beauty in nature and human life with which one feels the world is not in sympathy, the religion of spiritual people often shows a pronounced trend toward self-centeredness. Only the genius in spiritual interpretation can bring those who live this life of the spirit into vitalizing contact with those around them. This attitude for the protection of ideals comes out in curious little ways among the rural population. Often it causes an undue feeling of reliance on the minister, conse-

quently the people "expect too much of a minister." However, this is inevitable, and the minister needs to be something besides a merely social, attractive personality. He must be an idealist. Otherwise he fails as a minister. Without idealism the church degenerates into a mere social service or sociability enterprise. A community house and an interesting community life may serve to hold the young, but merely getting together for social enjoyment will not strengthen for crises or stimulate the idealism on which progress depends. There is required a spiritual leadership. Without this there can be no reconstruction of morality, no genuine coöperation.

CHAPTER XXIV

CHANGES IN EDUCATIONAL ATTITUDES

THE rural school always has been regarded as a neighborhood institution. Its function has been "discipline" and the teaching of the "rudiments." The discipline of children was, in the early days, the chief concern of most parents and they supported the schoolmaster in rigorous discipline. In recent years, however, discipline in the home has relaxed and the school teacher is less rigorous. The curriculum has expanded beyond the rudiments into a program of quite varied information. But the influence of the families of the neighborhood is still potent in the administration of the school, though they know nothing about education. The school should become a more distinct and independent social group than it has been. One step toward achieving this end is the consolidation of schools. This takes the school from under the influence of the few families of a neighborhood. Furthermore, the pupils of a consolidated school have a more enthusiastic we-feeling than the few in the little red schoolhouse. As the rural population has diminished, the number of children attending the district school also has diminished until there does not remain much resemblance between the crowded school of the early days and the quiet few there today. A consolidated school makes the group large enough to undertake the various activities that promote a real school life.[1] This larger school calls for expert direction and the school trustees are less likely to interfere than in the case of the little district school. The consolidated school is a long step in advance and undoubtedly will develop with the extension of automobile roads.

Throughout a good part of rural New York the attitudes of the early days to public education still persist. Among these are two attitudes that are derived mainly from the family configuration, one that education is for discipline, another that it should be practical. Physical discipline is less severe than it used to be,[2] both in the home and the school, but the attitude for discipline persists, and the educational attitudes that go with it are still essential in school procedure. Dis-

cipline involved not only compelling obedience to the rules of the school but also compelling the mind, that is, requiring a submissive memorizing of uninteresting lessons and also accepting without question whatever the teacher said. Pupils did not feel that they were expected to have an inquiring attitude. In connection with any problem the question was as to "what the teacher thinks." This attitude of passive receptivity inclined children to accept whatever they learned as what ought to be; so teachers were expected to be very careful in what they said because of this tendency of the "immature mind" to accept everything as "gospel truth." The system kept minds immature. This is true at the present time and it makes the teacher's task difficult; for, in the course of instruction, much knowledge which should be taken merely as what is, is taken as what ought to be. So pupils get an exaggerated idea of the beneficence and finality of things as they are. This is not in line with the farmer's educational needs at the present time. His interests require changes in the economic organization, so that his children should acquire critical and constructive intellectual attitudes, instead of the credulous and docile attitude that is fostered by the prevailing system.

As to the practical attitude to education the farmer distinguishes two kinds of learning, the kind the boy gets in the course of farm work and the kind he gets in school. In farm work he gets his vocational and scientific training. When the machine breaks down he has to study it and experiment until he has repaired it. In school he has knowledge poured into him and "a good many children are like a jug with a mighty small neck." The boy who aspires to be something besides a farmer gets his start in the district school. The farmer thinks a bright boy should have a chance at a business or professional career. He likes to think that the school of his neighborhood gives this chance.[3] So, as a rule, he acquiesces in the school curriculum while making fun of the product of it, that is, of the boy who can memorize easily and stand at the head of his class but "don't know enough to hitch up a horse."

Farmers do not, of course, uniformly exemplify the traditional attitudes to education. One will occasionally find among farmers an intelligent critic of the prevailing system. Another type is the farmer of a rivalrous disposition, who is eager that his district shall have a school as good as or a little better than neighboring districts have, without any intelligent idea as to what "good" or "better" means. It means anything in education that is generally recognized as superior.

Whatever is made to appear superior he wants for his children. These farmers are likely to favor the consolidated school because authorities on education generally favor it. While there are these variations from the traditional attitudes, the latter are generally prevalent, and they thrust forward in connection with educational problems much as they do in connection with economic, family and political problems. However, the farmer does not set himself up as a critic of education. He considers that the men who have public education in charge know more about it than he does. At the same time his casual criticisms of school education and of so-called educated people are prompted by their short-comings as judged from the point of view of his own attitudes. The girl who has not learned in school to "use her wits" in cooking and other housework, the boy who is a great reader but cannot "use his wits" in any practical situation makes the farmer impatient with education because such children do not exemplify the rural attitudes of self-reliance and ingenuity.

The farmer is not explicit in his expectation of others. He is not clearly conscious of his attitudes and, therefore, is not explicit as to what it is that he likes to see exemplified in others. For instance, when a farmer teaches a boy to do a piece of work in a certain way, usually he does not explain that that is the way to do it in order to save labor. He has a labor saving attitude but simply tells the boy to go ahead and do it in that way and that in the doing he will find out why. "Learning by doing" is this farmer's theory of education and this means not only acquiring skill but also acquiring the various moral attitudes that result from the doing. That is, the learning has a meaning, a moral significance that is more essential than the mere skill or knowledge acquired. However, the farmer is never explicit as to the moral significance of learning. He never goes behind a particular practice into "the philosophy of it."

The rural attitude for practical education has contributed toward certain changes in the system, for instance, the passage of the law of 1917 whereby the federal government makes a large annual contribution to each state, based on its population, for vocational education. This contribution is duplicated by a state appropriation. As a result of these appropriations training in agriculture and domestic science is being extended in schools attended by children of the rural districts.[4]

The purpose of the rural school has been conceived in a variety of ways, for instance, to interest the children and so keep them in

the country, to prepare them to be good farmers, and so on. These particular purposes appeal to farmers to a greater or less extent, but there is a more inclusive purpose than these, that is, the purpose of preparing children to live the good life.[5] The intelligent farmer's wife is more likely to be alive to this purpose than is the farmer himself, because she is less subservient than her husband to traditional attitudes in her viewpoint on education. Education is to her a means of escape from a monotonous existence. Of course she is to a degree in sympathy with the farmer's belief that education must make children efficient workers and respectable citizens. At the same time she is alive to what it may mean for a better life. She thinks of educated women as having mental resources that she does not have and she covets for her children whatever education can contribute toward a more satisfying life. This is true not only of women whose lives are filled with nothing but work but also of wives of prosperous farmers who have considerable leisure. They say to girls going away to school, "Don't come back and do nothing but 'gad around.' " The idea is that education ought to amplify one's mental resources, ought to furnish a basis for an intelligent interest in magazines and books and the problems of the world. The prosperity of farmers in certain sections has given a great impetus to this interest in education as a means of development of personality.

When teachers emphasize this purpose of education, the farmer's wife often is more in sympathy with the teacher than is the farmer himself. This kind of education seems to farmers too much like play. They oppose the waste of money required to improve the school as the teacher desires and the waste of time, as it appears to them, that is involved in the new school activities. On the other hand such a teacher is probably liked by the pupils and a teacher whom pupils like is highly prized because "they learn better if they like the teacher." Parents who are sympathetic with their children are likely to support a progressive teacher against the families of the community that are more unsympathetic and bound by tradition. But the latter are likely to be in the majority. So the district school is run with the traditional aim of keeping the expense as low as possible. The idea is that children who really want to go on with their studies can make good the defects of the district school by later going to the village school.

The families of the rural neighborhood are not capable of determining the nature of the education that should be given their children.

Yet it was maintained in a preceding chapter that the farmers must have more to say as to the nature of rural education if their children are to be trained for the new régime of coöperation. Undoubtedly the great agricultural organizations must take the lead in this improvement of education.[6]

The organizations have done so, on at least one occasion and it involved them in a conflict with the unorganized farmers, in which the latter prevailed. In 1924 the Agricultural Conference Board took a stand in favor of a bill authorizing consolidation of rural schools,[7] but the bill failed to pass because of the opposition of the unorganized farmers. The rank and file of farmers cling to their neighborhood school. They insist on the neighborhood's right to its own school, inasmuch as the residents of the neighborhood pay the tax for the schooling of their children. The opposition to giving up the school is due also to the farmer's having lost a good deal of his independence, which inclines him all the more vehemently to cling to what remains. The extension of markets and the organization of dealers has taken his economic independence; the extension of the state regulation of farming and the increase of the city vote as compared with the rural has diminished his political independence. Now they want to take away his voice in the education of his children. So he is making a last stand in defense of his rights. Another reason for clinging to the neighborhood school is that the school is the last remaining symbol of the old neighborhood as a distinct social unit.[8] Then too of course there is the difficulty of transporting children daily to a school some distance away.

The State Department of Education has assumed the task of enlisting the families of the rural communities in the intelligent support of their schools. The agent through which this is attempted is the district superintendent. He is elected by representatives of the local school administrations of his district from a list of eligibles furnished by the State Department. In addition to suggesting improvements in the technical side of rural education, he is supposed to function as a community leader in education, in the various communities that lie in his district. The district superintendents seem not to have been very successful in fulfilling this function of leadership, and there is a difference of opinion as to the reasons for their lack of success. The reason assigned by certain investigators is the inefficiency of the superintendent himself; but, as I shall show, another reason lies in

the obstacles he encounters in the communities. As to the opinion of investigators this is given in a study of the work of the district superintendents of the state which was made as a part of an investigation of rural education by a committee of the Agricultural Conference Board in 1923. The findings are as follows: "The community activities of district superintendents were studied chiefly from returns on a questionnaire filled out by 180 of the 207 officers of this type in the state. . . .

"The chief community responsibility of the district superintendent, as for the teacher, aside from his fundamental function of guaranteeing good instruction, is undoubtedly that of educating the community into an adequate appreciation and support of schools. . . . For this reason most of the direct inquiries put to superintendents related to this point." [9] It was found that "He employed but 4 of the 10 means for rural social development listed on the blank. . . . The chief handicaps he met in his work, according to his own statement, were community indifference, lack of coöperation from teachers, bad roads, and friction and jealousy between organizations—all difficulties on which he should have made some impression for improvement, it would seem, after his average length of service in his present position. But in more than half the cases recorded he did not consider himself especially responsible for the social welfare of his district, in many instances not even for the more restricted and obvious community relations of his schools. Often he seemed willing to shift this task to farm and home agents, grange leaders, church workers, or even to his rural teachers. In practically no case did he show a clear grasp of the fundamental principles of rural social organization and of the proper relationship of the public schools and his own office to a comprehensive program for rural community betterment. He was upon the whole, moreover, but slightly acquainted with the recent literature dealing with this phase of his problem, and seldom in personal touch with the best teachers in this field, even in his own state. There are, of course, a few striking exceptions to this general picture among the 207 officers of this kind in the state, but this is believed to be a fair statement of the median type as far as community interests and attitudes are concerned." The conclusion is "that the district superintendents and rural teachers of New York simply are not reaching the people with school propaganda nor enlisting their adequate coöperation in the advancement of education. This accounts, with-

out doubt, for much of the general conservatism so often charged against farmers on school matters and for some of the bitter opposition recently aroused against certain educational reforms." [10]

The causes assigned for this inefficiency of the district superintendents are his lack of adequate clerical assistance so that his time is taken up with office work; "the general neglect of this phase of educational administration by the State Department of Education"; and "the fact that the district superintendent has but little local responsibility and is not responsible to a natural social unit which thinks as a unit. Neither the county nor the natural rural community . . . enters into the determination of the supervisory district for rural schools in New York. These areas were defined for the most part in an arbitrary way some years ago and but little has been done in re-casting them since. This, together with the employment of district superintendents by an unrelated board carrying no other functions or responsibilities, tends still further to remove the office from the immediate interests of the people and to militate against the best development of close community relationships." For the failure to bring about this development the investigation blames, in the last analysis, the State Department of Education. "The state office as the fountain head of educational direction in the state must in the last analysis accept the brunt of responsibility for any shortcomings revealed. 'Where there is no vision the people perish' and when state officials, who should be the most fully trained, directly responsible, best paid, and highly specialized, of any educational group in the state cannot furnish the inspiration for this work results are sad, indeed." [11] It is to be regretted that the investigation did not go further and reveal the causes of the inefficiency of the State Department. This was not within the scope of the investigation narrowly considered but we should like to know to what extent the domination of reactionary propertied and political interests, which has come to the surface in certain communities of the state, overshadows our whole state system of education. This is a subject big enough for an investigation of its own. It is also a subject right in line with our economic interpretation of rural development.

Leaving this problem of the causes of the inefficiency of those higher up, we note that the deplorable condition of rural education is not to be ascribed so entirely to the inefficiency of the district superintendents as the report would seem to imply. Here again the investigation stops when it might go further and show us something of interest from the point of view of the economic interpretation. As we shall

see, the efficient superintendent often encounters obstacles that appear well nigh insurmountable, and he may seem to be inefficient when he really has done all any man could do under the circumstances. The efficient superintendent may be opposed by reactionary propertied interests of the community, who are against effective education, and he may even be forced out and replaced by one who is subservient to the controlling powers. For community leadership in education often involves making suggestions and sometimes taking a stand which, in spite of the exercise of tact, involves the superintendent in a conflict with the powers that be. This conflict is the ultimate process in the development of the education of a community.[12] It is one phase of the conflict between reaction and progress that is taking place in all other spheres of social organization.[13]

The investigation above referred to states that the district superintendent often shifted his responsibility for enlisting the community's interest in education to the farm organizations. It was found that these organizations do nothing along this line. To queries on this point the Farm Bureau and the Dairymen's League replied that they considered school interests and rural education only incidentally; and the Grange, which professes an interest in rural education, replied that "local granges pay but very little attention to school improvement. A discussion once or twice a year on schools or some phase of school work in the state is about all that is done. There is no real study of local conditions as they exist and of ways and means of bettering them." [14]

The Rural School Survey found also that the rural schools were handicapped by inefficient teachers [15] and an out-of-date curriculum.[16] The purpose of education is to train boys and girls to think rather than merely to acquire information. The curriculum of the rural school must then be formulated with a view to furnishing the material needed for effectively thinking out problems that rural children may meet. But the rural school curriculum is " made in terms of a city school organization." [17] "The neglect of the rural situation can best be seen in the syllabus on Civics and Patriotism. The expressed aims of the course are socialized habits and attitudes. 'Action,' the authors say, 'is the goal toward which we are striving. We begin with those particular phases of our group life which are full well within the child's experience, and follow his gradually expanding civic relations, giving him every opportunity for service in the group studied.' This must mean for the rural child an actual participation in the activities of the com-

munity life—the home, the school, the church, the grange and social life. Yet little attention is given to the specifically rural groups. . . . When such a common topic as recreation is outlined, it is treated almost entirely from an urban point of view." [18] Instead of providing a curriculum that is adapted to the problems of rural boys and girls, the state has provided a program of varied information which has little connection with rural life and has "instituted a system of formal examinations for testing such memory content with the evident hope that the pupils would somehow through it all be acceptably educated." [19] Thus the State Department of Education has failed to appreciate the rural needs. Not that the school curriculum meets the needs of village or city children, for memorizing varied information does not meet educational needs at all, but the idea seems to have been that whatever serves the purpose of city schools will do for country schools. It must be confessed that this idea is not entirely out of harmony with rural attitudes, for, as we have seen, the tendency of rural people has been to look to the villages and cities as the places of prestige and to want the standards of living and the education that there obtained. Even the most thoughtful farmers have failed to appreciate that rural civilization is more or less distinct from that of the villages and cities as these have developed in recent years, and that adaptation to rural conditions requires certain attitudes and a certain training that rural education should aim above all else to give.

While the distinct aspect of rural education requires emphasis, it is, of course, merely a part of a larger preparation for life. More and more boys and girls from the farms are going to the rural schools with the idea that that is merely the first step in their education. They are coming to feel that education is an avenue of approach to a larger life. This attitude is being fostered by thoughtful parents, by farm organizations and the rural magazines.

Thus far we have written mainly of rural education. But there is a growing tendency for boys and girls reared on the farm to continue education in the village schools, so this chapter would not be complete without some analysis of trends in village schools. In the first period of expansion there was a decided trend toward making education a means of prestige. Teachers magnified the superiority of the educated person and families sought this type of prestige for their children and for the family, inasmuch as the prestige of wealth was beyond their reach. The village schools extended the subject matter taught, and pupils felt the emphasis of parents and teachers on acquisition of knowl-

edge as a means of prestige. However, intellectual impulses were restrained whenever any cherished political, religious or other beliefs were called in question.

Another trend, in the second period of expansion, and largely a result of the World War and subsequent events, was that toward the use of education to foster patriotism. Patriotism means loyalty to country based on an intelligent appreciation of the advantages, and also of the defects, of its institutions. This appreciation should be acquired in the schools. But a critical study of our institutions is not generally tolerated. There is an approach to it here and there, and doubtless many teachers at heart are for it. But the prevailing tendency is not to disturb the child's naïve belief in the perfection of its country's laws and institutions. The child naturally feels that its parents, its sect, its nation, is superior to any other. This attitude with regard to family and sect is likely to be corrected when the child goes out to make its way in the world; but foreign nations are too remote for the contact that is necessary to modify the egoism of the nationalistic attitude. The school magnifies this egoism. Its teaching of patriotism centers around the use of American history, civics and economics to magnify the greatness of our industrial development, to indicate all the ways in which our form of government excels every other, to show why our standard of living and institutions make the United States the best place in the world to live in. Teachers are often as naïve in this attitude as the pupils and follow it unconsciously in their teaching. What they teach is readily accepted by most pupils because they have the same attitude. As one teacher who was not in sympathy with this chauvinistic attitude said of its effect on the children: "It gets them, there's no denying it." Not only teachers of history, civics and economics, but others as well, take every opportunity to foster what they regard as loyalty to the nation and some of them go so far as to overwhelm the occasionally inquiring child with indignation and sarcasm. Of course these instances of flagrantly unjust treatment of pupils are unusual. Usually you will be assured that there is "a good spirit" in the school. By that is meant a spirit of docility. Most pupils accept the teaching without any impulse to question it. It fits in with the talk they have heard at home. The inquiring child is exceptional and comes from an exceptional home, and a few disagreeable experiences with an intolerant teacher are sufficient to silence him or her. Where this intolerance has most consistently developed, no presentation of facts which would weaken the impression that our in-

dustrial life and political institutions are ideal is allowed. Books, pamphlets and magazine articles containing such facts, even though written by men of weight, are by teachers dubbed "socialistic" if brought to their attention by pupils.[20]

This illiberal attitude has given new life to the old tendency to make public education a drill. Pupils are to be drilled to pass the state examinations and teachers are rated in efficiency according to their success as drill masters. A real teacher who wants to do something more than this for her pupils, who wants to arouse the intellect and develop an attitude of critical inquiry, is likely to be told by her principal that that is all very well but "it really doesn't count." What counts is to get the pupils through the examinations. Thus the intellectual impulses of pupils are repressed under an appearance of a conscientious seeking of a more important end. The enthusiasm of pupils is enlisted in the drill program by stimulating their rivalry to excel one another in the examinations and so gain social recognition in the community.

The significance of this drill system of education has not been seriously considered by rural leaders because it has seemed to be outside their bailiwick. Though the farmers send their boys and girls to the village schools, the village boards of education are made up of men and women who live within the village district.

The educational situation has been discussed at some length among other reasons because, up to this point, the trend of the analysis has pointed strongly to an economic interpretation of rural development. In Chapter II we described the efflorescence of American materialism and in the succeeding chapters traced various effects of economic prosperity on social behavior. The social pleasures and the morality of the population were profoundly affected by the changed economic conditions. Now educational institutions are those whereby society reacts on its economic and other conditions. The schools are the domain of ideas where reason is enthroned, or is supposed to be. It is only by the right kind of public education that we can hope to reconstruct morality. An heroic use of education might yet stem the tide toward materialism. Rivalry for recognition of superiority, the rush for the material evidences of superiority might be subordinated to the socially necessary dispositions—to sympathy and intellect,—and the attitudes that are necessary for social progress might be developed in the young. But this requires not only a clear vision among educators as to what is to be done but freedom to do it. As we have shown, and will show further on, the economic forces repress this

freedom. The economic powers that be will have none of it. And the unconscious subservience of those engaged in education to the influence of the powers that be, or the economic urge, in the case of those who are consciously subservient, represses the sympathetic and intellectual impulses. Repression tends to center the mind of the teacher narrowly on his or her economic interests.[21] Because school teachers who aspire to do something better are compelled to center on getting pupils through uninteresting subjects, they suffer from repression of creative impulses and their chief interest lies in their pay.[22] There is but one way out of it. Public education needs a spiritual leadership—men and women who see what education must do and are idealistic in their determination to do it. Such a leadership seems hardly to have made itself audible.

This lack of leadership is due in the last analysis to the social control exercised by reactionary propertied interests. The rank and file too readily conform, as the line of least resistance. This control suppresses freedom of teaching in normal schools where teachers are trained and in the public schools where pupils are taught. Here is an illustration from the public schools. A village of about sixteen hundred inhabitants had a school principal who had presided over their school for three years. He was a man of mature years and had done a remarkable work in the school, a work which had attracted the attention of educators outside. Without describing this work in detail suffice it to say that, in addition to efficient teaching of the prescribed curriculum and the maintenance of good discipline, he aimed to teach the pupils to think. They were to think not only on their school problems but also in connection with their athletics and their social life—to think before getting angry in their sports and before giving way to self indulgence in their social life. Thus he made his influence felt to such an extent that the school games were played in a spirit of true sportsmanship and the social life was more refined and more enjoyable than ever before in the history of the school. The principal was a man of extraordinary intellectual enthusiasm, kindness and thoughtfulness of others. He was a power for good among the children of the village and this was recognized by the parents. In addition to stimulating thinking, he introduced features calculated to inspire reverence for the great events and the distinguished figures in our country's past, and to instill respect for law and enthusiasm for progress. These features centered in the Memorial Day exercises of the community in which the school took a leading part.

This school, like other village schools of the state, is run by a board

of education elected by the villagers. We say "elected by the villagers." In the summer of 1924, however, fifteen voters out of several hundred qualified to vote were all who met to elect the three members of the school board to be elected that year. Let that pass. This particular board was entirely under the influence of one man who was reputed to be the richest man in the village. He had a private bank and also was interested in a produce company that invariably got the contract, supposedly in competition with another company, to support the school with coal. He had, at his own expense, laid out the grounds of the school, fenced them and planted rose bushes, and he worked on the grounds on the hottest summer days that his devotion to education might be apparent. He gave, each year, a sum of money to the school library. He also gave, annually, a sum of money to each church of the village though he did not attend any. As the richest and most influential citizen and a public benefactor he enjoyed the adulation of the citizens. The viewpoint of this man soon began to conflict with the ideals being inculcated by the school principal, but at first unconsciously to both. They were on good terms. The years went by. The principal was getting deeper into the lives of the boys and girls. His ideals of clear thinking, of freedom of thought, of fidelity to conviction, of honesty and honor, of manly ambition, of true sportsmanship, of kindliness, of self-control, of devotion to country and zest for progress were gathering an intellectual content in the minds of the pupils that inevitably gave the ideals a practical bearing. For the principal aimed to make these ideals something more than mere high sounding phrases. For instance, in his chapel talks and his civics class he condemned various aspects of behavior that were contrary to these ideals. He always used tact and avoided personal references but he applied ideals concretely to behavior. Honesty meant, not doing this, not doing that, courage meant not being afraid to do this or that. Behavior in the home and in the community, in that particular community, was thus subjected to the searching light of liberal thought. This eventually would have forced the retirement of the principal if nothing in particular had taken place. But something did happen. The principal could not be true to his ideals of honesty and courage and remain blind to the fact that the rich man's produce company was selling unscreened coal to the school at the price of screened coal. He courteously informed the school board of the fact and some of the members looked at the coal and found it unscreened. Again, the pupils wished to have a school dance. Now this village had its "fast set" to which

the rich man and his family belonged. At their parties wine flowed freely. The principal announced that there must be no liquor drinking at the school dance and took precautions, tactfully and courteously as in all his behavior, to prevent the use of liquor. This instance of fidelity to ideals and his frankness about the coal were the last straws in the strain that had developed between himself and the rich man. On his record and particularly for his fidelity to the best interests of the school in those two instances he should have been commended by the school board; but, at the end of this, his third year, he was not asked to serve another year. He wrote the president of the board of education a request for the reason for the action of the board and received only the reply that they deemed it for the best interests of the school. He wrote two other requests for specific reasons but received no answer to these letters. Soon his dismissal became "town talk." The principal's faculty were without exception in deep sympathy with him. One of the teachers wrote me as follows: "I have been associated with Mr. —— three years, one year as a high school teacher and two years as teacher of the training class. I have always found him very courteous and considerate of his faculty. His teachers like him and all who stay are very sorry to have him leave. The pupils all like Mr. —— personally and respect him thoroughly. Mr. —— has proven himself to be a man of high moral character and I believe he maintains a high standard among the young people. He is a tireless worker and a capable instructor. I am glad to commend Mr. —— and I hope he will secure a fine position as I believe he will make good in any place he secures." The clergymen of the village, also, including all the Protestant ministers and the Catholic priest, were solidly for the principal and presented a petition to the school board asking a reconsideration of its action and stating that "We consider Mr. —— to be a valuable asset to the school and village life of —— and would consider his removal from —— as a distinct loss." The board were not unanimous in their action against the principal but the majority were controlled by the rich man. The leading figures in the drama before us are, therefore, the principal whose ability had made him a force for community leadership and the rich man who dominated the majority of the board of education and who was an object of adulation because of his reputed riches and his gifts to the community. Not a citizen of the community had the courage to circulate among the people a petition to the school board to rescind its action, although the majority of the citizens undoubtedly would have

been glad to sign such a petition had they dared. Several of the citizens spoke to the principal of their wish for such a petition but through their fear of the rich man nothing was done. The two village newspapers maintained a discreet silence concerning the whole situation for they were dependent on advertisements of merchants who were dependent on loans of the rich man. The ministers went no further than to present their petition to the board.

So the rich man was triumphant, "as he always is in this town" said the district superintendent. This state official, who resided in the village and whose supervision extended to this school, told the school board courteously but firmly that they had "made a mistake in discharging Mr. —— ." Thus to speak was a part of his duty as superintendent of instruction in his district. Nevertheless, as he told me, he had been informed by "one of the henchmen" of the rich man that "he says he'll get you next." This was not the first time that he had angered the rich man. It was one of a series of offenses. As the superintendent said, "It is not sufficient to meet him as man to man when your work brings you into contact with him. He wants you to kowtow to him." The rich man was accustomed to expressions of submission and adulation from those with whom he had dealings. The president of the board of education was a bookkeeper in the rich man's produce company. He took the responsibility for the unscreened coal, and, as president of the board, represented that body before the public more than any other member. His function generally was to "shield the emperor."

Whence the power of the rich man? His father had been the rich man of the town before him, so he had family prestige. He conducted a private bank and "is good about lending" and "will lend without much security if he likes a man and has confidence in him." He held mortgages on houses in the village, among them the house of the school principal, and on farms throughout the territory of the district superintendent. He had a reputation as "a good friend and a bitter enemy." He was vindictive in his punishment of those who opposed him. This was known and increased the prevailing fear and submissiveness. Among those not thus affected he "has bought his way into public favor." But as one man said, "We are beginning to wonder whether, after all, we didn't pay pretty high for the school grounds and the library." But the general attitude was one of fearful acquiescence or adulation. His gifts to the churches served to control

the occasional high-minded minister for though the minister might despise the gifts the members did not.

Moneyed men were more powerful in the rural districts and the villages in the second period of expansion than in the first both because they had more money to lend and because people borrowed money more readily than formerly, not only for production but to buy a new automobile or for some other unproductive purpose. This is true of farmers' families as well as villagers. The power of money lenders is much wider and more pronounced than formerly.

It is not maintained that the school board above referred to is typical of village boards throughout the state in being controlled by one well-to-do citizen and his clique, though other instances have come to our attention. However, boards generally prefer a principal who is absorbed in getting pupils through the examinations to one of liberal tendencies, who aims primarily to teach his pupils to think. Such a teacher will differ on many vital questions from the unthinking village conformists and these differences are bound to come out in the teaching of pupils, no matter how much tact is used. What boards want is not an effective thinker or a community leader but, as the members express it, a principal who "will make things go smoothly." They want a man who will avoid antagonizing by his opinions the conforming rank and file and the influential people who, though their behavior in certain respects may be censured by the rank and file, yet, because of their riches, enjoy the adulation of the citizens. The principal wanted is one who will be "discreet" in his opinions. His business is to run the school "properly" that is, as a proper educational machine.

The prevalence of this attitude of boards is evident from the experience of our principal since he was dismissed. He endeavored to secure another place, by registering in teachers' agencies and by personally applying to boards of education in search of a principal. Boards were favorably impressed by his personality but shied off when they found he had been dismissed. He had committed the unpardonable sin. He had not got on with his board. While these various boards do not exactly constitute an interlocking directorate in education, the man who is dismissed by his board is looked at askance. So our principal is selling insurance. The fit type of principal, under the present conditions of survival, is the smooth, discreet type, the one whose ideals are limited to certain set notions about "character," who confines himself to setting these forth and to the technical side

of education and keeps the operators of his educational machine exclusively on their machine tasks.

Yet these same village boards want a "live" principal. They want an active man. The villagers like to see him preside at public functions and make a good appearance. They like to see him interested in school athletics. The popular interest in school athletics has greatly increased of late in some villages, particularly interest in the games between the teams of different schools. A poor showing made by the local team stirs popular feeling against the principal, a good showing endears him to the people. But they are divided in this matter. The better class insists on the team's showing good sportsmanship, while the rank and file want a winning team, regardless of the ethics of its behavior. This popular clamor for an active principal, an athletic leader, has diverted the minds of the people more than ever from the real purpose education should have, that is, the training of pupils to think and the untrammeled development of the attitudes required in the free citizens of a democracy.

To devise remedies for the shortcomings of village and rural education does not lie within the scope of this book. The first requisite is to see and acknowledge the shortcomings and to delineate these is our purpose. Among the sensible remedies would seem to be investigations, the giving of publicity to the results of investigations, and plain talks on their duties to boards of education and faculties of public schools by men of courage sent out by the State Department for that purpose. Laws giving principals and teachers more secure tenure also would help some. But the emphasis must be laid on raising the moral tone of the village communities by investigations and plain talks. School principals want to live on good terms with those among whom they work, and are not likely to make any educational effort that would incur the disapproval of the community.

Another obstacle to efficient teaching is the influence of reactionary propertied and political interests over normal schools in which teachers are trained. In one instance they sit as members of the board and their clique dominates the school administration. The theory of education voiced by an outstanding member of this board is that the masses should not have too much education. It makes them too hard to handle. The masses should not be trained to think. Thinking in the state should be done by the aristocracy and the education of the masses should be confined to a drill in the prescribed subjects. Wherefore the pupils of the normal school who are to become the fu-

ture teachers are not to be trained to think but to be drill-masters in putting their pupils through the required studies. They are themselves to be made docile conformists to the prevailing attitudes and beliefs as the essential condition of their fitness to train the children of the state. This reactionary educational policy is endorsed by the heads of certain normal schools, thinking teachers are suppressed, and these "centers of learning" are one more deadening influence over the village schools.

The preceding paragraphs on village education are important for the rural population because farmers send their children from the rural district schools to the village schools to complete their education. The situation is important, also, from the point of view of the problem of the consolidation of rural schools. If the schools of the rural parts are consolidated with village schools, can the rural population get for their children the kind of education necessary to build up a rural civilization? The alternative is to consolidate rural schools only. If rural schools are consolidated with schools of the smaller villages then farmers should be well represented on the village boards of education. To be sure, we have no reason for thinking that the average farmer is any more competent to direct education than are villagers. But against this we have the great fact that the agricultural organizations cannot realize their purposes without sooner or later taking an effective interest in education. It is vital to the purposes of the coöperatives and the Farm Bureau and the Grange. The weight of these organizations must inevitably be against the reactionary influences we have described, for no rural progress is possible unless the boys and the girls from the farms are taught to think and are trained in the attitudes that are required for a progressive rural civilization.

The practicable solution of the problem so far as rural education is concerned, lies in the organization of farmers' families into groups for the study of interesting problems during the winter months. The farm and home bureau clubs center on the material side of agriculture and home making. One farmer, who was a loyal member of the Farm Bureau, said, "We want, in addition, something that will take us out of our locality and get us in touch with the problems of the country and the world." The Danish People's High School, which is a system of education for adults, does this for the rural population throughout Denmark, and these schools more than anything else are what have put the Danish farmers in the lead in agricultural coöpera-

tion. In New York, agents employed by the government, as those of the Farm Bureau, and of our public school system, have not sufficient freedom of speech for the efficient teaching of classes that study vital problems. Wherefore, if farmers' study classes are to be organized, they should be without state aid. There are private organizations that can effectively carry on this work. The work should not be confined to winter schools for farmers' families, but should include circles of farmers' families studying at home.

While these classes would study all sorts of interesting problems, the ultimate purpose would be the learning of the real meaning of education. By learning to think on their own problems, adults would become conscious that education for their children means learning to think instead of merely acquiring information and writing it on examination papers. The unfortunate aspect of rural education has been that the child did his thinking in the course of his vocational training under the parent and then went to school to get certain kinds of information poured into him. So there developed the idea that the public school was meant for the acquisition of book knowledge rather than for training in thinking, and this conception influenced the pedagogues who shaped the state system of education. That system has become a machine and educational progress must be initiated outside. Wherefore, farmers need to be organized into local groups for the formation of opinions that shall work on the schools of the community, to the end that pupils shall no longer be taught to learn rather than to think.

The organization of farmers' families into groups for study during the winter months would inevitably open their eyes to the meaning of education and to the need of reform in their schools. Adult education in Denmark has had that effect and the time is ripe for such a movement in New York. The talk about farmers' lack of intellectual interest may be true for many farmers, but in many communities there is a sufficient number of intelligent farmers for a live study club. It is true that farmers are averse to reading books. The method of teaching a class should be conversational. Farmers will go to books once their interest is aroused. They will read books that are clear and full of facts on a problem in which they are interested. A short time ago a farmer's boy took home a fascinating book on a sociological problem. His father picked it up in the evening and read it far into the night. Next morning he telephoned to his brother to ask if he had read the book. The brother got the book and read it. Then the parents and children, in each family, discussed the book together. One of the girls

said, "This is the first time that father and I ever discussed anything together. In fact, I never studied anything that I had much interest in, or that would have interested him." This girl was at home on a vacation from school and the father asked her why she did not read such books at school and take courses in sociology. The reply was that she was studying the courses which she needed to become a teacher. There is the situation; the future teacher must center her attention upon acquiring much useless information in order to be able to drill the pupils in memorizing useless information. Normal schools, high schools, secondary and primary schools, are combined in this machine system. Only the challenge of thinking farmers will change all this. When they find out what they want, nothing can prevent their getting it. These thinking farmers are scattered throughout the more prosperous sections of the state, and the one thing needed is that, during the winter months, these families shall gather around leaders in stimulating conversation and study about the social and political problems before the country. The one desideratum is leaders. They must have imagination, devotion, and make the subject matter merely the means of an intellectual and spiritual awakening.

CHAPTER XXV

CHANGES IN INTELLECTUAL ATTITUDES

THE closer contact of the farmer with the outside world made inevitable certain changes in his intellectual attitudes. The early farmer had a pronounced tendency to rely on himself and use his wits in a situation that required ingenuity. Farmers rely on their own ingenuity somewhat less than formerly. This is due in part to the increasing use of farm machinery and automobiles which it is difficult to repair without the proper tools. Furthermore, farmer boys of a mechanical bent go to work in the villages and cities. So the farmer comes to feel that mechanical work is not in his line, and is inclined to patronize the village mechanics.

The farmer still works alone and, because of his lack of social stimulus, he is a slow thinker. But his business relations with the outside world are tending to quicken his mental processes, for modern business contacts make quick decisions imperative. For instance, a farmer is offered a certain price for his apples providing he decides to sell by the next morning, for the buyer must know by that time in order to complete his arrangements for cars. So the farmer is jerked up short in his mental processes and must act at once. Children in the rural district school tend to be slower to think than they would be in the village school. The children themselves sometimes comment on this after they get to the village school. They say, "In the district school we felt as if we had all day to get a lesson." Contact with modern business and education has, therefore, tended to quicken mental processes.

Another result of contact with the business world is the direct emulation of business traits by the more intelligent farmers. In the social meetings of the church and in the men's clubs of the villages, the farmers hear business men talk of their financial successes. Though the mass of farmers may supinely accept their lot, the enterprising farmer does not. He has the impulse to prove himself the equal in shrewdness of any business man he knows. This causes him to emulate business traits as he sees them in the successful mer-

chant or manufacturer, and impels him to stick to a coöperative enterprise until it is firmly established. He wants farmers to be organized and able to challenge the shrewdest business men.

Especially in fertile farming sections farmers are less set in their beliefs and less intent on doing things by rule than in the early days. However, pride everywhere acts as a strong incentive to conservatism. The prevailing attitude still is to feel on the defensive before new knowledge instead of being open-minded. For instance, if some agency conducts experiments in the farmer's orchard, it sometimes seems as if, on the whole, the farmer would feel better satisfied if the experiments failed to demonstrate anything new. If they do, he appreciates it, perhaps thinks it is wonderful, but, at the same time, feels himself somewhat discredited. Of course, one sees this attitude among men generally—among lawyers who dislike new interpretations of law, among clergymen who dislike new interpretations of dogma. Men generally tend to resent the idea that there is anything in their line worth knowing that they do not know.

The automobile has increased the social contacts of the farmer, and these contacts have somewhat disturbed the traditional resignation with which he has accepted everything as it comes. The automobile brings him into contact with those who are making money. He is no longer absorbed in producing a crop and satisfied with making a living. He wants to make money and to have some of the things money will buy. If he does not, his wife does. Now unrest may result in different types of reaction. It may stimulate downright thinking, but the more common reaction is merely to vent the discontent on some objective. For instance, the farmer is discontented because of the high prices of what he buys. He is ignorant of the causes of high prices and the newspapers offer an objective on which to vent this discontent—the labor organizations. The farmer reads of the high wages of labor in cities and feels that is the cause of high prices. This accentuates his hostility toward labor organizations. The large profits of business men are not considered. The immediate result of contact with the outside world is not to stimulate reflective thinking but discontent, which makes the farmer susceptible to suggestions of interests that seek to take advantage of his discontent for their own ends.

The other result of discontent is to stimulate downright thinking. Farmers of constructive mind come into contact with business men who are making ten times their own income and they cannot see that these business men are in any way their superiors. They realize,

however, that the associations of these men are such as to stimulate thinking while the isolation of the farmer discourages it. This serves as an incentive to push a coöperative enterprise, for thereby the farmers may get together and discuss their problems and so quicken their minds. Farmers of constructive mind realize that the social factor is important, that thinking, for every man except the genius, depends on social stimulus to think, that in a sense, therefore, farmers must rise together as thinking men or remain where they are.

The farmer's situation is no longer necessarily unfavorable to downright thinking. Farm work requires somewhat less constant exertion than formerly, owing to the increased use of machinery.[1] The automobile and the new farmers' organizations are doing away with unfavorable isolation, without subjecting the mind to that constant play of suggestions which makes it very difficult for the city man to develop a reflective attitude. The social factor may distract, as well as stimulate, the mind. Farmers' sons and daughters who have any serious turn of mind at all are quite likely to develop a reflective attitude that is more pronounced than in youth of the same capacity in the village where there are more social distractions. The great pity is that these farmer boys and girls think they are thereby better qualified for other occupations than farming and may not become farmers. However, they may influence those who remain at home. No source of new ideas is so vital for the farmer as the influence of a son or daughter who has been away to school, if such a one perchance has acquired new ideas. The ideas are forced upon the farmer's attention as they would not be if he came across them in the course of his reading, and some sort of adjustment is necessary.

Another vital source of new ideas is that already mentioned—the new farmers' organizations. While a considerable proportion of farmers are not members of any of the organizations, they feel the effects of these. They read of them in the rural newspapers, have neighbors who are members and so come within range of the new ideas. Now there is one effect of the organizations on the mental life of the farmer that will bear emphasis. In fixing the attention of the farmer on his economic interests, they pin him down to objective facts and, in so doing, take his attention away from obsessions; and, as shown in *Our Rural Heritage*, the farmer of the past, because of his isolation and his extremely active life, was subject to obsessions. In European countries in which coöperation is furthest advanced, as in

Denmark, the farmers are least interested in the obsessions of emotional nationalism, and in countries where there is least coöperation nationalistic propaganda most obsesses the peasants, as in Italy. In New York the farmers most interested in coöperation have least sympathy with the Ku Klux Klan and its propaganda of emotional nationalism. Not that in Denmark or among those enthusiastic for cooperation in New York the farmers are unpatriotic but they are inclined to rely on themselves rather than on the government and so are less susceptible to the obsessions that go under the name of patriotism. So the starting point for a really intellectual development of the rural population seems to be the organization of the farmers for the realization of their economic interests, as in the Farm Bureau and the coöperative societies, and the pinning of their attention down to those interests. The education should not be limited to mere technique of scientific farming and coöperation but should teach the broad significance of those movements. The educational value of those movements lies in the way they stimulate critical, objective thinking. This is the surest way of getting free of emotional obsessions and reliance on formulas which have so dominated the rural mind in the past.

Still another source of new ideas are the newspapers. Farmers quite generally have become newspaper readers. However, like men in other lines, they lack the knowledge and training necessary to understand the political problems raised by what they read. For this reason they are as susceptible to the emotional attitudes conveyed by the press as anybody else. For, while the paper purports to print the news, it does not give a sufficiently adequate account of the facts in connection with any event of importance to justify the formation of an opinion on that basis. Yet readers inevitably get impressions from bits of news that determine their attitudes on important problems, perchance, on great international questions. The newspaper does not and cannot give an adequate basis of facts for judgment. The farmer thinks he is getting "the facts." But all he gets is certain news edited in a certain way, and what the newspaper really does with him is to shape his impressions and attitudes in a certain way. For the news is so vast and so complicated that reporters and editors must pick and choose and decide what not to print as well as what to.[2] In doing this they are influenced by the attitudes of their superiors, and by those of the classes to which the paper caters. In certain

cases, especially, the news is selected and edited so as to draw favorable or unfavorable attention—as pleases those who determine the policy—to the people and organizations that figure therein.[3]

The farmer reacts to the statements in the paper as if they were true, that is, without any question as to their truth, unless the news is about some local matter that he happens to know was contrary to the newspaper story. Ordinarily he reacts to what he reads as "gospel truth." This means that, in the absence of a critical attitude, what he reads gives him certain cocksure impressions. What these shall be, depends not only on what is stated but on how it is stated, for on the "how" depends what attitudes of the farmer shall be aroused. Men of different attitudes will get different impressions from the same statement but a population with much the same attitudes will get much the same impression, so that a writer may create the same impression over a wide area. For instance, the impression that foreign nations should pay in full the debts they owe the United States government is easily spread abroad by making a certain selection of the debt news and by giving the news concerning debts a certain turn. Making a nation's debt incurred under extraordinary circumstances seem like an individual's debt incurred under ordinary circumstances puts the obligation of a debtor nation in line with the farmer's attitudes of honor and honesty and he is strong against any policy of cancellation. He will argue for his attitude, not by analyzing the situation, which he knows nothing about, but by giving certain reasons from his own experience as to why debtors should be compelled to pay their debts. "You know if a man doesn't pay you what he owes you, before you know it he is beginning to dislike you and talk about you. Just so if we let off the European nations, they would not be as good friends as if we made them pay." On the other hand the farmer has attitudes that could be brought forward for partial cancellation. His attitude to do his part in a common enterprise would prompt him to assent to cancellation as the nation's part in bearing the burdens of the World War. If this attitude was stirred in connection with statements about the debts, the farmer would find reasons for cancellation as he now finds reasons against it. The point is that he has attitudes that can be moved either way, that is, the newspaper can create an impression either way. It can arouse an attitude either for or against cancellation. The attitude it does foster is a result less of a wise understanding of a world situation than of the beliefs and prejudices of the interests to which the paper caters.[4] So it is with al-

most any public question. Such questions concern situations that are not understood by readers, which gives the paper a wide discretion as to what impressions it will give and what attitudes form for the ballot box reactions.

The farmer does not get from the paper the real situation. What he gets is impressions on which he feels and acts as if they were true. Thus it is that he derives his attitudes to the great problems before the nation. Thus public sentiment is made. One often finds throughout a whole rural section similar attitudes on certain public questions. The newspapers and magazines taken throughout that section have shaped the attitudes. In this respect a rural is not different from an urban population, or from a college group. The college teacher finds a uniformity in his classes in attitudes on certain questions. The attitudes are based largely on newspaper and magazine reading and on gossip that has come to the ears of students. What does the teacher do in this situation? He stimulates the student to see that these questions involve problems while the student simply has impressions to which he reacts more or less cocksurely according to his attitudes. Then he guides the student in a research of all the facts bearing on the problems and in a thoroughly scientific interpretation of the facts. Through research and discussion students thus learn and interpret the facts that bear on a great variety of problems. Thus they convert the habit of reacting according to impressions into the habit of gathering and weighing the evidence bearing on any problem. This attitude for understanding is the essential fruit of education and no man can regard himself as educated until he has acquired it.

The farmer needs a similar education. He may think he has no attitudes at all to various national problems and he may seem largely indifferent. Nevertheless he has attitudes which are known to state and national legislators and executives and their knowledge of these has an immense influence on their deliberations. For instance their knowledge of the farmer's attitude to organized labor has an influence on deliberations as to whether the injunction shall be used by the government against a great labor union on strike. Their knowledge of the farmer's attitude to the Russian Republic has an influence that is weighty in deliberations as to the wisdom of the recognition of the Russian government by the United States. How such problems are settled is of great importance not only for rural welfare but also for the welfare of the nation and the world; and the attitudes of the

farmers, because these enter so largely into the calculations of the men who settle those problems, are correspondingly important. Wherefore, one would suppose that to create rational convictions on public questions would be an important function of some agricultural organization, for instance, of the Grange lecturers. Farmers need to be stimulated to reflect on public questions and to be guided in their reflections. However, in discussions of the training and functions of Grange lecturers little or nothing is said about this fundamental function.[5] It is a great step in advance that farmers have come to center on their interests as organized groups; but there are public questions not immediately related to their interests that are vital for rural welfare and for national and world progress and farmers should not be left to form their opinions on the basis merely of impressions received from newspapers.[6]

Farmers themselves have suffered from emotional attitudes against them on the part of the press, wherefore one would suppose that farm organizations would take an interest in educating their memberships for a proper reading of newspapers. For instance, Senator Capper writes: "When the organization of the Agricultural Bloc first received public notice in Washington there almost immediately developed a spirit of opposition on the part of the representatives and the press of our large cities. The New York newspapers were promptly critical and did not stop by merely announcing the organization of the group, but went further to state what they assumed were the objects and motives of the group and to discuss them in detail.

"The New York *Journal of Commerce* said: 'The whole program —or certainly the major portion of it—is based upon false premises. The Congressional theory seems to be that farmers are being exploited by other interests. . . . The logical procedure is therefore (they reason) to enact legislation which will free the farmers from this burden. Unfortunately, however, many are not willing to stop even there, but on the contrary desire special government favor or a subsidy for agriculture.'

"Such a point of view was passed on to business men throughout our largest cities to such an extent that it was almost immediately reflected back to Congress into the minds of representatives who had not taken the trouble to study the facts themselves, but merely reflected the opinions of their constituents." [7] Senator Capper goes on to say that the newspaper comments on the Bloc "largely took the form of

editorial ridicule" until they saw it had power. "Then a new fear seized upon the city press and they devoted much space to the danger to organized political party action from this bi-partisan movement." [8] The farmer has, therefore, had enough experience of newspaper misrepresentation of his own cause to teach him to be cautious and critical toward what he reads. But the lesson is hard to learn. The line of least resistance is to take up the paper for a moment's diversion and credulously to accept everything one reads. This is true not only of farmers but even of the university graduates who frequent the clubs of our cities.[9] Even so-called educated men, the best educated, fail to realize that mere newspaper reading and gossip is not adequate for an understanding of world problems; that these challenge serious thought; that our convictions in these most vital matters should not be based on the most trivial grounds; that we should seek out the facts and should suspend judgment until satisfied that we have a sufficient basis of facts for the formation of opinions.

CHAPTER XXVI

CHANGES IN POLITICAL AND JURISTIC ATTITUDES

THE distrust of political parties and politicians that was noticeable in the first period of rural expansion became pronounced in the second. This was due to several causes. First, revelations of boss-rule and of the corruption of state and national officials from time to time have shaken the party loyalty of the old days. As the farmer drives down the village or city street, he passes the fine home built by a retired politician with the remark "There's some of B——'s pickings." He reads that a member of the legislature who started life with nothing and made politics his sole business drew a salary of $1500 a year and died worth $250,000. As in interpreting the behavior of the dealer in farm produce so here the tendency is to generalize from the conspicuous instance. Men cannot make money in politics as openly as formerly, but as the money-making opportunities of various kinds of business have become more and more involved in politics, politicians' chances of gain have multiplied and this has attracted men looking for gain.[1] To be sure there are conspicuous instances of just the opposite kind of men in politics, but the hard road of men of integrity only proves what the prevailing conditions are. When the farmer sees the highest posts in the state occupied by mediocre men who "played with the gang" and men of integrity and ability kept in some subordinate office, he draws his own conclusions.

Another cause of the distrust of politicians is the increase in the number of politicians of foreign birth or parentage. Voters are most effectively influenced by men of their own nationality; hence the great foreign immigration up to the time of the World War increased the number of politicians of foreign nationality. The Irish saloonkeeper is the only politician of this kind that has infested the rural districts to any extent but the farmer learns of conditions in the cities. Often he has a high regard for his own local officials but he sees the influence of the city as determining more and more those who are nominated and elected to state offices.

The farmer's distrust of politicians is accentuated by his inclination to judge their behavior from the point of view of his own attitudes. This process of judgment has already been seen in the farmer's bringing up of his children, in his attitudes to education and to the clergyman, and it is essential also in his attitude to the politician. For instance, he says of a farmer who was elected supervisor and who found it more difficult to get things done his way as supervisor than on his own farm, "He didn't keep his word but we'll give him another chance." The farmer judges the office-holder's behavior from the point of view of the independent farmer with his old-time attitude of honor— "Your word as good as your note." He does not consider that the office-holder's position is not quite as free and independent as is that of the farmer. In the old days when the farmer's interests were paramount with most supervisors and when many of them were honest farmers, a farmer could accept that office with the reasonable certainty of being able to live up to his word. Today this is more difficult and, for this reason, farmers who value their reputations hesitate to accept the office and so to put themselves in situations in which their honor and honesty may be questioned.

Another instance of judgment according to attitude is the farmer's contempt for the bluffing politician. This is due to the old rural attitudes of sincerity and directness of speech. Sincerity meant not pretending to be what you are not and directness meant saying what you think. Sincerity and directness are still pronounced; hence the aversion to the bluffing politician. This aversion is on the increase for the conflict of interests in the politician's constituency has become more pronounced with the development of agricultural organization, and his bluffing has increased as he has tried to serve two masters. Politicians have supposed, often, that their bluffs were effective because the farmers supported them at the polls. One cannot blame the politicians for having a good deal of contempt for "the dear people" when the latter, year after year, vote the same party back into office in spite of bluffing and exposures of inefficiency and corruption. One of the favorite occasions taken by politicians to commend themselves to the farmers are the rural picnics. The speaker is gratified by the generous reception given him by the good-natured crowd and seems highly satisfied with his own smoothness. But the farmer says, "He's too smooth, he must be tricky." He judges according to his own attitude of directness. A straightforward speaker who deals with facts from the point of view of the farmers' interests impresses farmers irrespective of

party as "a smart man." But a speaker of such directness is rare because the farmers' interests are likely to be contrary to the interests of certain other groups that are influential with the politician. One of these groups is the dealers in farm produce. Politicians think it wise to be on friendly terms with dealers because the latter are so much among the farmers and because they are men of means who can make campaign contributions. So when we come to the politician's practice of bluffing the farmers we are in line with an economic interpretation of the politician.

Another instance of the politician's attempting to serve two masters is his profession of sympathy with farmers and also with organized labor. As we saw in Chapter XVIII, the individualistic farmer is prejudiced against labor organization. Consequently a candidate for state office who "favors" labor unions is likely thereby to alienate the farmers and one who impresses farmers as sharing their dislike of labor unions is likely thereby to commend himself to them. The politician is not unmindful of the farmer's attitude to labor unions and his desire to serve these two masters furnishes another occasion for bluffing.

While the farmer is now not so easily bluffed by the ordinary politician as formerly, a politician who is a large landowner and who understands the attitudes of the farmers and lives much among them may hold the regard of a whole rural section of the state while taking the side of capitalistic interests in the legislature in connection with bills that involve the interests of the farmers. The adulation of farmers for a rich landowner is a deepseated rural attitude. Because he is a landowner they feel he is for their interests and his intimate knowledge of their attitudes, and his cleverness in appealing to them on public occasions cement this feeling of oneness. Even charges against such a man of serving corporations contrary to the farmers' interests when preferred by a high official of the American Farm Bureau Federation fail to stir any distrust of him among the farmers of his constituency.[2]

In spite of their distrust of the ordinary politician, farmers continue to be more or less partisan. Those who have radios concentrate on the political speeches of candidates of their own party; or, if they have neighbors who belong to the other party, they listen to the speeches of members of the opposite party in order to get their arguments and think out answers in advance for arguments with neighbors. Farmers who are not interested enough in their party to care

to argue for it are still kept in the party traces by their dislike of the opposite party. Though the farmer distrusts his own party, he distrusts the rival party more. His justifications of his party allegiance usually are in terms of distrust of the rival party. A Republican cites the control of the Democratic party by Tammany Hall; a Democrat cites the control of the Republican party by financial interests. Any contemptuous idea about the other party that is quite widely current serves the purpose of justifying partisanship. At the same time partisanship is much weaker than it used to be. The New York farmer did not participate to any extent in the radical agrarian movements of the nineteenth century but these movements had some effect even on him. They sowed the seed of distrust of the time honored parties and encouraged a tendency, on occasion, to vote outside party lines.[3] But independent voting does not arouse much enthusiasm. The farmer has a keen sense of his helplessness as an individual voter. The necessity for farmers to stand together politically in defense of their interests is clear to him but he despairs of their ever doing this. Consequently, while the partisan attitude has become a merely indifferent habit, it persists. It is difficult to convince many farmers that the opposite party is, in any legislative project, more for their interest than their own party. For this reason, when any proposed agricultural legislation has been made a partisan matter it is difficult to get farmers to come out for it to the extent of voting against the candidates of their own party if the latter are opposed to the legislation. Farmers are "set" in their partisan attitude for the same reason that they are set generally. It is due to their economic life. Success in farming requires power to work alone, to plan alone and persistently to carry out one's plans. That is, a degree of stubbornness is an asset in farm work but a liability when it comes to business dealings or political action. The coöperative organization is educating the farmer out of his stubborn individualism in business dealings; and doubtless it will eventually so enlighten him politically as to modify this attitude in his political action.

The political interest of the farmer is more a matter of attitude and belief than of intelligent understanding of his economic interests. The issues that arouse interest are those that stir deep-seated attitudes. Interest in political leaders is determined in the same way. The farmer is characterized by a persistent thrusting forward of attitudes before new situations and new leaders. He is especially interested in characteristics of leaders that appeal to deep-seated atti-

tudes. For instance, in the presidential campaign of 1924 the Progressive Party promised the farmer certain legislation for the improvement of agricultural conditions. In talking with the farmers I found little interest in these proposed legislative measures as compared with the interest in the Progressive presidential candidate himself, and this interest showed itself merely as a thrusting forward of the attitudes of the farmer. For instance, one would be interrupted in his explanation of the Progressive platform with this exclamation: "But will he do what he says he'll do?" They thrust forward the attitude of fidelity to word in the old rural sense, without considering in how far the powers of the president were such that he alone could be held responsible for enacting the party platform into law. The farmer is more interested in whether a candidate has the attitude that he requires in a man whom he is to respect than in the candidate's program and policies. This explains why it is that the program and policies of a candidate may have little in common with farmers' interests while he still holds their allegiance. Their support depends a good deal more on whether he impresses them as their kind of a man than on what he stands for. He may not really be their kind of a man but if he seems to be, if he appears to be a man of independence, of fidelity to word, if he is reserved but direct in what he does say, if he seems to be trying to promote economy in the government, these various aspects of his behavior appeal to rural attitudes and he appears to farmers to be their kind of man. The situation may require a man of other characteristics than these but the farmer does not weigh a candidate from that larger point of view.

Fundamental attitudes play the same predominant part in determining the farmer's attitude to issues. This is true, of course, of other economic classes, also. The same issue may look different to different classes because of their different attitudes. On the other hand, different classes may happen to take the same position on a certain issue, for different reasons. This is very likely to be the nature of the political coöperation of different classes, for instance, of farmers and workmen of the cities.[4] That is, their coöperation is fortuitous and temporary, a result of the exigencies of the situation. Farmers would be likely to coöperate temporarily with any class which opposed freer divorce, more expensive public education, state ownership of some basic industry. The coöperation would not be due to the fact that the farmers' fundamental attitudes were similar to those of the other class but to the fact that their different attitudes happened

to lead to an opposition to the proposed change, so that the different classes found themselves acting together. The concerted action would endure only as long as that particular issue was paramount and only as long as its complexion did not change in a way that would alter its appeal to the attitudes of either class. So "politics make strange bed-fellows" not only among politicians but also among economic classes.

We would not by any means imply that the farmers of the state all take the same attitudes toward political issues. A given issue may arouse different attitudes. For instance, as pointed out in a previous chapter, the unorganized farmers of the state would not follow the organized farmers represented by the Agricultural Conference Board in their support of the proposed law for the consolidation of rural schools. The issue was presented by the *Rural New-Yorker* in such a way as to arouse certain deep-seated attitudes against it among the unorganized farmers, while the organized were subject to the influence of their organizations, which favored the proposed law.

Thus the farmers are, for the most part, unintelligent in their political action. They are persistently partisan, or sectarian—Catholic or anti-Catholic,—and when they consider issues it is according to their attitudes, not intelligently. When they act with the workmen of the cities it is fortuitous; their attitudes happen to incline them to a similar position. They have a deep-seated prejudice against organized labor, which prevents any effective political coöperation. Farmers will not consider their economic interests in any but a superficial way. They lack the economic point of view and the penetration to single out the great issues, for instance, price-rigging and unregulated monopoly, which raises the price of coal, gasoline, farm machinery and other agricultural necessities. Effective thinking would make plain the fact that, with respect to unregulated monopoly at least, they have common cause with labor. Organized labor likewise fails to single out this fundamental issue. Nothing proves more effectively the superficial nature of the thinking both of farmers and labor than the merely fortuitous nature of their political coöperation and their failure to single out and unite on the great issues.

Because of the importance of attitude and belief in determining his political interest the farmer is less easily aroused by new issues than by the question of perennial interest, lower taxes.[5] The thrifty, saving attitude of the farmer leaps forward to embrace this issue. Another issue that arouses intense interest is prohibition. The attitude of self-

restraint has come to center on this issue and it has brought to the fore the traditional strife between the austere and the convivial people in the population; also the sectarian feeling between Catholics and Protestants. A large proportion of rural saloonkeepers have been Catholics, and this fact has given the struggle a sectarian aspect.

During the first period of rural expansion and the first decade of the second period, the no-license territory was spreading in the rural districts of New York, under the local option law. The reasons for this were, first, that an increasing number of people had been set against liquor by bitter experience with drunkenness among their own relatives and friends. Then, too, the community had been shocked. Young men who were favorites in the community had drunk themselves to death in the saloons harbored by the community. The hatred felt toward saloonkeepers who had persisted in selling these young men the means of their ruin was deep-seated. Furthermore, it was a matter of common observation that liquor drinking was the cause of much poverty and degradation in the community. Also revolting crimes had been committed in various parts by wayward youths whose downward course began with liquor drinking. As a result there was an accumulation of resentments against saloonkeepers, particularly among the austere element in the population. Austere people have a strong reaction against any evil that weakens people for work or that degrades the community, and particularly against those who profit from such evils; and liquor drinking gradually stood out from all other aspects of conviviality as the one supreme evil to be fought. In the fight against it the austere people maintained their traditional policy of moral suasion as against legislation until well on into the second period. The individual himself must get right with God; then God will strengthen him against every temptation. So the reliance was on religious conversion, though laws were passed forbidding traffickers in liquor to desecrate the Sabbath by the sale of liquor on that day. Toward the close of the first period of expansion, efforts increased to enforce the Sunday closing and other liquor laws. Law and order leagues were formed here and there in the rural villages to enforce the liquor laws but without success. The futile attempts to regulate the liquor traffic inclined an increasing number to favor the prohibition movement that was growing throughout the country. It was felt that experience had proved that mere half-way measures were of no avail.

During the period since the constitutional amendment prohibiting the liquor traffic was passed, prohibition sentiment seems to have

weakened in many rural communities. First, the detested saloon-keeper has disappeared from view. There are still saloons in many villages and hamlets, but they are not doing business openly. A resentment tends to cool down when the object of it slinks out of sight. Second, influential people here and there throughout the rural districts who were for prohibition during the World War are now against it. They were moved by a sentiment of self-denial for the sake of a great cause and now their moral fervor has "petered out." Or they have exhausted their supplies and want more liquor. The farmer who wants liquor can make a barrel of cider but many people want something better. Third, many people justify their cooling resentment or their increasing thirst by declaring prohibition a failure. There is a tendency to dwell on this and to condone the law breaking because it proves their contention. Finally, some of the newspapers printed in the large cities, which circulate through the rural districts, reflect the sentiment of rich and influential classes who want their liquor, and those papers print news or give a turn to news that will discredit prohibition and influence the rural population against it. Thus the prohibition sentiment was due not so much to a reasoned conception of its social necessity as to a variety of impulses, particularly resentment against the infamous "trafficker in souls," compassion for families impoverished and degraded by liquor, fear of the effect of liquor in increasing crime, and moral fervor. Nevertheless, rural sentiment is still predominantly for prohibition, if we may judge from the action of the New York State Grange at its annual meeting in 1924, when it endorsed the action of the National Grange favoring a rigorous enforcement of the prohibition law.[6]

The failure to enforce the national prohibition law has still further accentuated the new conception of law that began to dawn on the people in the first period of expansion. No situation has brought into so clear relief the fact that law represents a merely temporary adjustment between conflicting interests and that aggressive particular interests stop at nothing in their impulse to have their will in spite of the law [7] as the struggle between the wet and the dry forces in New York. We have the spectacle of a state legislature passing a law to aid in the enforcement of a constitutional amendment and a few years later repealing the enforcement law. Very evidently law is merely a temporary adjustment between conflicting interests. This conception of a conflict of interests behind the law, which may result in nullifying or repealing law as advantage shifts from one side to the other, has im-

pressed the more thoughtful farmers. As long as public sentiment behind law was uniform and had been so from the hoary past, there was little or no consciousness of anything except the law itself as the expressed will of the people. Today there is so conspicuous a conflict of attitudes, with reference not only to the prohibitory law but also to others in which the farmer is interested, that the conflict behind the law is as evident as the law itself. So the more thoughtful farmers are brought reluctantly to admit that, under certain conditions, law becomes merely an adjustment, for the time being, of the claim on the part of conflicting interests to the use of the sovereign power in their own behalf. However, most farmers are not thoughtful to this extent. They still think of law in the old sense as invariably the will of the whole people and have the old aversion to lawlessness as such.

The attitude of partisanship continued to weaken in the second period of expansion and it no longer gave villagers and farmers any considerable emotional reaction. The nationalistic attitude as a thriller came to the fore during the World War and this resulted in the rise of a movement, of which it is impossible to ascertain the proportions, the Ku Klux Klan. As yet no statistics are available on the extent of this organization but it seems to be organized in most of the counties of the state. Associated with the nationalistic attitude in this movement are two others of traditional strength and emotional possibilities—the attitude against Catholics and the attitude against lawlessness. As to the former, the political and economic as well as ecclesiastical solidarity of Catholics has long impressed Protestants; they have thought of Catholics as "laughing at our divided condition." Now the nationalistic ideas preached at Klan meetings are something on which all Protestants can unite, a fact which does away with their divided condition. This united Protestantism thrills the klansman. As he says, "You feel you are a member of an organization of great power." Of course members of the Catholic church have the same thrill of power as members of a great organization. In addition to this emotional reaction derived by both organizations, both alike emphasize their economic and political solidarity. The members aim to coöperate politically and to help each other in an economic way. The attitude for law enforcement is another that has been invoked by the Klan as a part of its propaganda. The movement has as one of its professed aims to purge government positions of officials who will not enforce the laws and to elect those who will. Thus the Klan represents, psychologically, a coalescence of three of the most deep-seated traditional atti-

tudes of villagers and farmers and it is this that explains its astonishing growth. The conditions happened to be such as to kindle these three attitudes into vigorous action.

The Klan of course has had a marked effect on Catholics. It is the most vital subject of conversation among them. It stimulates their loyalty to their church, intensifies their political and economic solidarity, and, in some villages, has made it possible to raise large sums of money for church building projects. So there is intensified sectarian feeling all around.

The Klan has had an effect also on Protestant farmers who will not join. Some of them maintain that "we couldn't do without the Catholic church. It controls a certain class of people." This is the old attitude of fear of the non-propertied unless ecclesiastically controlled. A much more prevalent reason for opposing the Klan is that the farmer is moved by attitudes of our rural heritage that are opposed to its secrecy and sensationalism. However, there is no denying that the Klan has aroused the interest of the farmers to a high pitch. Not that they believe that "the Klan is hell bent to run the country," as one farmer averred, but they are aroused by its avowed political purpose. It has kindled farmers' interest in politics. What this will lead to is, of course, problematical. Many farmers are undecided in their minds about the Klan. One of the considerations that inclines them to favor it is that "officials are so lax about punishing the guilty that such an organization is necessary or crime will go unpunished and people will become more lawless." On the other hand it is feared that membership in the Klan might be used as "just an excuse to vent your spite on one against whom you had a grouch." That is, it might instigate instead of put down lawlessness. So many farmers are unsettled in their own minds. It is a significant fact that among the most vigorous opponents of the Klan are the farmers of constructive imagination who take the lead in coöperative enterprises. They are impatient with any organization that diverts the mind from the main issue, which to them is the improvement of the farmer's economic condition. There is no doubt that the Klan is a red herring across the main line of political development, that of a new alignment of voters according to their economic interests.

Let us return to this main line of political development. The New York farmer first got a definite notion of the conflict of his economic interests with those of other groups during the prosecution of the trusts under President Roosevelt. This action of the government in-

creased the Republican vote in the rural districts, for farmers felt that the trusts raised the price of farm implements and machinery. Then came the Dairymen's League and the Farm Bureau and their conflicts with business interests. Neither of these organizations at present has any intention of using political methods other than those regularly taken by various organizations to influence government officials for or against legislation in which they are interested.[8] But in the publications of these organizations farmers may read of the opposition of financial interests and of representatives in Congress to legislation sought for the welfare of the farmer.[9] As yet, however, New York farmers have not awakened to the conflict of economic interests underlying politics as have the farmers of the West.[10]

There are several reasons for this lack of effective political interest. As already pointed out, the political behavior of the farmer is largely a matter of attitude and belief rather than of intelligent understanding of political issues. Another reason is that the farmer is slow to consider his own economic interests to be legitimate grounds for political action. He is also loath to credit men of his own vocation with capacity for political leadership. To him the farmer lacks the requisites of success as a public official, lacks ability to speak in public and to discharge official duties. So he has let men of other groups have the offices, and has trusted in the promises of the lawyer, the business man. The groups which have thus become accustomed to political control have come to assume an exclusive right to political power and are correspondingly annoyed at the increasingly aggressive political attitude of farm organizations.

Another reason for the lack of effective political interest is that men capable of leadership have been absorbed in coöperative enterprises. An outsider little appreciates the magnitude of the task that confronts the leaders of a coöperative enterprise. Obstacles are interposed by interests whose profits are threatened by the movement, and shrewdness is matched against shrewdness, resources against resources. While this struggle involves getting favorable laws and favorable court decisions, which depends a good deal on the organized political strength of the farmers, yet, in the main, the coöperative movement is economic. The thinking farmers in every community are more interested in the economic aspects of the movement than in politics.

The conservative political viewpoint of New York farmers has not been disturbed by the agricultural organizations of the state. Those organizations have followed a very conservative political policy.

Doubtless they have had in mind the conservatism and partisanship of the farmers. All of the organizations do political work in connection with the enactment and amendment of laws immediately connected with their particular interests; and a great deal of thought and research is required before an organization is ready to take the responsibility of a stand for the enactment of a law. Wherefore the organiations have not yet had free time for the study of the larger political problems.

Because of the more or less technical nature of important problems, it is probably true that the farmers of the state would not so effectively achieve their political interests if organized into a distinct party as if organized, as they are in part, to bring political pressure to bear on the old parties. Legislators are quite likely to pay attention to a proposal of agricultural leaders based on the findings of experts especially if those leaders represent a large organized body of voters. For such an organization is not a rival party, so that it may be won to the support of the party which is favorable to its proposals. Furthermore, if farmers were organized into a separate party the issues raised by the party would be more or less determined by popular clamor under the instigation of politicians, and consequently might not be as well thought out as they are likely to be by the leaders of the agricultural organizations. To be sure, there is enough popular clamor, on occasion, under the present system, but would it not be worse if the farmers were organized as a political party and subject to the instigation of politicians? For instance, the question of a reform in taxation to alleviate the unjust burden [11] now on the farmer is one that must sooner or later be taken up. This is a technical question and will require a thorough investigation by experts. Would the farmers organized as a political party be in any better position to take up this highly technical issue than organized as they now are, in part, under the Agricultural Conference Board? If legislators will not support measures wanted by the farmers and based on exhaustive investigations and sound arguments of their leaders, then the next step would be to form a farmers' party.

This is not saying that the organized farmers of the state should not join with other organizations for the sake of coöperating in legislative projects, or that the farmers of the state should not join with those of other states in a national organization to coöperate with other national organizations in legislative projects. This action as a political unit is the only way in which an economic group can realize the political

aspects of its economic interests. We have state and national associations of manufacturers for this purpose and that is one reason why manufacturers have so effectively realized the political aspects of their economic interests. The unorganized individual has no political power. The majority of farmers in New York realize this in a way but the realization has not yet affected their extremely individualistic and partisan frame of mind.

The strife between capital and labor for political control has resulted in an increase of intolerance throughout the nation, and this has affected the rural population. It infected the lawmaking bodies and the result is that our laws limiting freedom of speech are more intolerant than formerly. "Freedom of speech and of press, as the expressions are now commonly understood in America . . . is a much less substantial right than the freedom of speech and of the press enjoyed by the men of the early nineteenth century." [12] What are the causes of this increase of intolerance? Professor Holcombe cites three: the antagonism between capital and labor which became pronounced before the World War; the repressive spirit of the war period; and the fear of socialism.[13] The fear of socialism was spread abroad before the war and was intensified after the war by the persistence of the Russian Republic. Before the war this fear had warped the judicious attitude even of men who are supposed to excel therein. As Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the United States Supreme Court has pointed out, the fear of socialism has prejudiced more or less unconsciously the thinking even of judges.[14] Wherefore we should not be surprised to find this form of intolerance among farmers. The New York farmers were for the most part in sympathy with the expulsion of the five socialist members of the state legislature in 1919,[15] though the best authorities say this was illegal.[16] The farmer's prejudice against socialism is indiscriminately felt against other economic and political movements which ought to be regarded separately on their merits. Among these are various aspects of the American labor movement, also progressive movements in politics. The New York farmer lumps socialists, labor leaders and progressives together and will have none of them. Any critical study of our institutions the results of which imply any justification at all of any of these movements is generally regarded as "socialistic." And because the critical attitude is contrary to the attitude of unthinking loyalty and conformity, the critical attitude itself, without regard to the content of particular criticisms, is likely to arouse suspicion of "socialistic tendencies."

Another cause of increasing intolerance is the weakening of the early rural attitude of liberty which was described in Chapter I. With the growth of population and the increasing intimacy of association, with the development of modern industry and the extension of markets served by factory and farm, with the increase of self-indulgence and of the speed of modern life, the necessity of protecting the population has resulted in a great increase of laws and administrative officers. Every class of people is affected by this tendency, farmers, business men, wage earners. So the regulating function of the state has grown and with it the power of the state has increased. This has emphasized the impotence of the mass and has accentuated subservience to government. Furthermore, as generation has succeeded generation, Americans have been further and further removed from the original cause of American distrust of government —the tyranny of European governments. Thus the old rural attitude of a jealous guarding of personal liberty has weakened and the result is a diminishing inclination to resist encroachments on private rights, including the right of free speech.

The tendency of the state to expand its regulating function is due not only to the causes above given but to the weakening of the family, the church and the school as agencies for social adjustment. There was a time when children were so rigorously and wisely brought up that parents had confidence in their power to withstand temptation. Not only have temptations increased but the rearing of children has weakened, so that the cry is more and more for laws to protect weak people. Again, as stated in a previous paragraph, there was a time when religion meant that the individual could lay hold on the power of God to help him to withstand temptation, and to conduct himself honorably in all his dealings. Today this virile religion is less in evidence and so there is an appeal to the state to enforce honor in dealings, while often there is not enough sentiment of honor to enforce the laws. Finally, as we have seen, the school does nothing to strengthen character for social adjustment. The weakness of these social institutions throws on the state a necessity of regulating behavior that it is not competent to meet; and people fail to see that the cause of this lack of social adjustment is, in the last analysis, not entirely the inefficiency of the state but of the family, the church and the school.

Another condition that makes for increasing intolerance is the fact that this nation no longer can rest secure in isolation. National isolation is a condition of the past. The delegation sent to Europe

by the American Farm Bureau Federation reported that a market for farm produce at a price that would enable the farmer to live and pay taxes depended on the adjustment of conditions in Europe. The idea that agricultural prosperity here depends so much on conditions in Europe was a new thought to thousands of farmers. This increased interest in Europe has made it easy to feel apprehension because of reported radical movements in Europe, and easy for the newspapers to arouse such apprehension because European nations are too remote to make it possible for the masses to know very much about them. People are extremely subject to obsessions of fear generally. The old tendency to fear deep lakes or impenetrable swamps is still in evidence.[17] People easily are made fearful about what they cannot see. for mystery makes the fear plausible. Hence it is easy to stimulate fear and dread of foreign nations, which are too remote for the contact that would correct false impressions. During and after the World War a vague, emotional dread of imaginary forces working against stable government was spread abroad and moved people, including farmers, to acquiesce in intolerant laws. For instance a law was enacted in New York in 1921 and repealed in 1923 which provided, among other things, that the Commissioner of Education should revoke the certificate of any public school teacher if it should appear that he or she had said anything that could be construed as advocating a form of government other than that of New York or of the United States.[18] To illustrate the intolerance of this law, teachers of history or civics who, in their teaching, happened to carry the idea that the English parliamentary system, which involves so much less fruitless strife between the executive and the legislative branches than our form of government, was superior to our government, would be thrown out of his or her position. During the agitation for the repeal of this law it was discussed with farmers with the suggestion that they sign a request to their assemblyman to vote for its repeal. Most farmers maintained that the law was all right. "But isn't it a dangerous power to give one man, this power of deciding when any opinion of a teacher is 'against the government?' " Occasionally I found a farmer, one imbued with the old aversion to giving officials too much power, who replied: "Yes, that is too much power to give any man." But this opinion was exceptional. The prevailing attitude seemed to be, "The law doesn't interfere with *my* rights and so I have no objection to it." Furthermore, the farmers had read the papers. Their fears had been

played on and they were willing to acquiesce in this curtailment of freedom of teaching that their government might be protected against imaginary foes.[19] The Lusk Laws were repealed but not because of any sentiment against them in the rural districts.

For intolerance due to unfounded fear the remedy is to look right into the cause of the fear. Says Professor Cabot: "The *treatment of fears,* the only treatment that I know of, is that we face them, look straight at them, as we turn a skittish horse's head right towards the thing that he is going to shy at, so he can look at it squarely. So we try to turn the person's mental gaze straight upon the thing that he fears." [20] Education should train people to dispel all these imaginary fears. So education would work against intolerance. Unfortunately intolerance prevents public education giving this training. A teacher who does not share prevailing obsessions is accused of being in sympathy with the menaces feared. To attempt to show there is nothing to fear incurs the hostility of those obsessed. These widespread obsessions are a good deal due to the newspapers. They like to be sensational, especially if the emotions stirred are in line with the interests of the propertied classes that are catered to by the paper. It must be admitted that the press is a more powerful educational agency than the schools, and as long as the press is bent on maintaining an obsession the school can do little against it.

Another cause of intolerance is the increasing tendency of thinking men and women to delve more deeply than heretofore into the basis of social organization and to question what has been largely unconscious and taken for granted. So the farmer finds beliefs about property, patriotism, and religion called in question and this arouses intolerance.

The essential cause of increasing intolerance is the intense competition of modern life. This causes individuals to organize in groups for effectively realizing their economic interests. The most intolerant groups are those that are most aggressive and confident of their power to dominate the economic and political situation. The farmers are not of these groups. Until recently farmers gave their opinions as individuals, except as church members and members of a political party. Today many of them are members of agricultural organizations of great power, but their organizations are not bent on economic or political domination. Nevertheless, the farmer is somewhat affected by the intolerance of the time. The failure of our education to emphasize independent thinking and its emphasis on accepting what the teacher says,

is bearing fruit in the inclination of men generally to go with the crowd, to follow the business people of prestige and to react intolerantly to contrary opinions.

While intolerance seems to be on the increase at the present time, it is easy to exaggerate the tolerance of the past. It was due not to intellectual attitudes that make for tolerance but to the farmer's peculiar economic position. Because of his economic independence, he felt that everybody might think what they pleased and say what they pleased so far as he was concerned. This attitude was expressed by an old farmer who was attending a meeting addressed by speakers on the advantages of coöperative marketing. After listening awhile he said in response to an inquiry as to what he thought of it, "Let 'em blow. They can't hurt me none." Today the farmer no longer feels independent, and so feels less like letting 'em blow. Whether he will acquire the intellectual attitudes that make for tolerance will depend on the influences to which he is subjected. As indicated in the preceding chapter, little has been done to stimulate reflection among farmers, and power of reflection is essential to toleration. Farmers who are spectators of an argument have an attitude to resist a domineering talker, or one whose manner indicates that "he thinks he knows it all." They admire a man who "can see both sides." But when it comes to the expression of doubts about religious beliefs or beliefs as to private property or the family which are to them fundamental, that is another matter. Intolerance always is comparative. The less liberal thinker is, to the more liberal, intolerant. As the standard of liberality has been raised by higher education, the standard of tolerance has arisen. Wherever higher education is effective, it is widening the chasm between those who can discuss essential beliefs and those who cannot. Of course this is just as true among village and city people as among farmers. In the case of the latter, the agricultural organizations might do much to promote a higher degree of toleration, and so protect the farmers from the tendencies of the time, and the public from the menace of the conflict of intolerant economic groups. The farmers' organizations might make our agricultural population a bulwark against the intolerant tendencies of the time.

It is maintained in some quarters that the organization of farmers for business purposes will merely put them in line with the general trend toward intolerance. It is true that business corporations too often aim to realize maximum profits regardless of the public welfare, and that this policy often makes business men intolerant of ideas that

interfere with their plans. However, thus far the farmers' coöperative organizations have given no evidence of this tendency. For, while the farmer is a profit seeker, like other business men, he knows that profiteering in food products would not be tolerated by the public as is profiteering in gasoline and coal. He knows that, while a monopolistic corporation can profiteer because it can control production and conceal its profits, a coöperative society that includes thousands of separate enterprises cannot control production or maintain secrecy as to profits. On the whole the farmer knows he cannot profiteer and he has no inclination to do so. Wherefore the leaders of a coöperative enterprise strengthen their position with the members not by disregarding the public for the benefit of the members—as the management of a corporation often strengthens its position with stockholders by increasing dividends through profiteering at the expense of the public—but by showing a wise regard for the public welfare. Such an attitude commends the leadership to the rank and file as one that, on the whole and in the long run, will best serve the interests of the farmers. The attitude of the coöperative society is, therefore, not one of aggressive profit seeking and of intolerant opposition to ideas that interfere therewith. Rather the tendency has been for the leaders of the coöperative organization to urge on the members a tolerant attitude toward the farmer who was slow to join with them, a tolerant attitude toward dealers who opposed coöperation, and a tolerant attitude toward people who have been misled as to the farmers' intentions. Thus far, therefore, coöperation has made for tolerance rather than intolerance.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RURAL AWAKENING

THE purpose of this chapter is to indicate certain outstanding features of the development that has been described. The attitudes of the farmer of the early days were determined primarily by the neighborhood life. His character was unconsciously formed thereby from childhood. The neighborhood was his coöperative society, for neighbors coöperated in butter making, in planting and cultivating, in harvesting and in a hundred other ways. It was his farm bureau, for, if a farmer needed "pointers" on the raising of a crop, he got them from some neighbor who had been unusually successful with that crop.[1] His social life was lived almost entirely in the neighborhood. Politics, education and religion also had the neighborhood stamp. Political interest centered on getting efficient local officers. Education was a neighborhood concern. Even religious beliefs reflected the neighborhood, for heaven was a place where families would be reunited and the old friends of the neighborhood would see each other again. The one thing that gave a chill to the belief in heaven was the thought of all the strangers there; but that was dispelled when the minister reminded his people that everything would center around the worship of the Saviour and all would be brothers and sisters in Christ. So the rural attitudes were articulated in a neighborhood configuration. Contrast this early situation with that of today. In a large part of New York the neighborhood as the group that, next to the family, centers the farmer's attention is a thing of the past. It is no longer the farmer's coöperative society. Neighbors continue to help each other in some ways but not as formerly. It is no longer the farmer's bureau of information. For this he depends less on his neighbors than formerly and more on outside information. For social life he goes to the village or, on Sunday, drives to see relatives perhaps miles away. The education of the children in the rural school is felt to be of less import than heretofore because the shortcomings of the school can be made good by later sending the children to the village school. Political interest no longer has any ref-

erence to the neighborhood. Religion no longer centers in the hope of a reunion with relatives and neighbors who have gone before. It is more concerned with wider and less clearly defined problems of conduct in this life.

We have, then, this situation: The farmer is still to a considerable degree unconsciously moved by neighborhood attitudes, but the neighborhood life has passed and he is not yet adapted to the new, complex situation. He is in a state of uncertainty. His *unconscious attitudes* are no longer as adaptive as formerly and he is developing new *conscious interests*. But he is uncertain about the new interests—about the coöperative society and the Farm Bureau, about the effect of the village as a social center on his family, about giving up his neighborhood school for the consolidated school, about giving up his old political allegiance and backing legislators who will effectuate the farmer's interests. He is uncertain as to his religious beliefs and even about the bringing up of his own children. He once felt that he was justified in making them work because he was thereby training them to be industrious farmers. Today he would like to see them "aim higher" and encourages them to go through the village school. Moral attitudes in the early days were inculcated in the course of the daily work; today the parent more and more leaves the moral training of the children to the school, and the school, as he sees, does little or nothing about it. So he is uncertain in this also. In their uncertainty farmers show two more or less distinct tendencies. One is the tendency more or less doggedly to react according to the old attitudes; the other is the inclination to think on the new situation and to give the new projects a fair trial.

The essential economic attitude of the early farmer was his independence because of his ownership of land. "The farmer is independent because our living comes out of the land" is the way it usually was expressed. "As long as I have my land I can make a living beholden to no man." He lacked interest in his economic relations with the outside world because—what did it matter anyway; he could get out of his land enough to live on. The farmer's great aim was to pay for his land and get clear of debt. Then everything would be smooth sailing for the land would at least yield him a living. The impulse to accumulate, also, centered on the acquisition of land. When his first land was paid for, his family was likely to want "new things," so he was inclined to buy more land because the necessity of making the payments would serve as a good reason for continuing the habit of

thrift. Then, too, he wanted more land. Land more than any other form of property determined a man's standing in the community. Even if a man was "land poor" because he lacked capital to work his holdings, so that the taxes "ate up" the income still a reputation for extensive land ownership spread far and wide. All over the world this preoccupation with the soil has made the farmer little interested in his business relations or in the government. What interested him was the weather.

One of the essential weather attitudes was that "we must take things as they come." For all one could do in a bad spell of weather was to be resigned to it and then work a little harder when the good weather came. This attitude of resignation affected the farmer's entire behavior. It made him content with a mere living; and, when economic changes threw him more and more into relations with the business world, at first he treated the processes of the business world, for instance, depression and low prices, much as he had those of nature, as incalculable, something that could not be helped but must be taken as they came. One must just work a little harder "when times are bad." So it was with his political behavior. An increase of taxes might be unjust but "we cannot do anything about it. The only thing for us to do is just to work a little harder." And, in religion, the attitude was to be resigned to the dispensations of providence and to commend oneself to God by one's industriousness. "God helps those who help themselves." In education also the emphasis was not on what one learned but on industriousness. The characteristic advice to pupils was, "Work whether you think you are learning anything or not. What you need is to learn to apply yourself."

This was the prevailing attitude up to the second period of rural expansion. But two sets of conditions were working to change this attitude. First, the farmer was brought more and more into contact with village and city people and his wants increased; second, he was thrust into contact with the business world. Owing to the increase of wants he got less and less comfort out of the thought that, no matter what he got for his products, he was sure of a living off his land. He wanted more than a living. He saw the village people prosperous and enjoying more comforts than he enjoyed. He could not see why the farmer, on whom they all depended for their food, should merely exist. So when, as a result of the very low prices of one agricultural depression after another he felt, "We've got to do something," he did

not mean something to escape starvation but something to gain his share of the good things of life. Either conditions must improve or he would reduce his area of cultivation and his herds, in which case "somebody will go hungry" he said, with village and city people in mind. The farmer felt the challenge of village and city prosperity, especially during the World War when he heard of the rise of the money wages of factory workmen. So the rivalrous disposition became pronounced. That is, his aim became not merely to subsist but to raise himself from the position of economic inferiority into which the farming population had let itself drift while other economic groups had organized to rise in the social scale. Slowly he began to discern the reason for his inferior position. He had been thrust into contact with the business world. He was buying more and more supplies and machinery of business men and what they charged affected his prosperity. Also he was selling his products to business men and what they would pay affected his prosperity. Every business group with which he dealt was organized to seek maximum profits for itself, not for him. These groups were tending toward tacit agreements to prevent active competition for his trade and for his produce. This raised the prices he had to pay for his supplies and equipment and lowered the prices he got for his products. The result was that the farming population was less and less prosperous. And this affected the merchants, artisans and professional men of the villages, who depended for their prosperity on that of the farmers. The farmers were not only failing to maintain the standard of living of the middle class but also were losing its enterprise. The consciousness of ownership of land no longer was a comfort when they "could hardly get enough off the farm to live and pay the taxes."

The conditions that gave the impetus to the rural awakening were, therefore, economic. The awakening also implies radical changes in the social relations of the farmer. First, it implies a passing from the face-to-face relations of the early neighborhood to the more complex and indirect relations of today. Second, the change from neighborhood to outside relations meant a change from behavior largely according to attitudes, conscious or unconscious, to behavior that involved conscious interests. Let us explain this second change at some length and then advert to the first. In the early period attitudes often were justified in terms of religious beliefs. People often quoted Scripture in support of their attitudes, or justified them merely as ways of doing that had long been generally approved. Today the farmer is

less interested in religious sanctions and in the sanction of antiquity. He is more likely to consider whether attitudes and ways of doing are in accord with his economic interests. As coöperative ideas pressed upon the farmers, they were more and more called upon to give reasons for their individualistic attitudes. They had to justify them economically, for coöperative leaders laughed at the conventional justifications. This mental shaking up extended over a wide range of attitudes. They were called upon to justify sectarianism if it interfered with coöperation, for instance, by causing an averseness of Protestants to joining a coöperative group with Catholics. Also they were called upon to justify partisanship, when their economic interests called for political action which their party declined to support. Partisanship began to seem like a foolish sentiment when it prompted the support of party candidates who had acted contrary to the farmers' economic interests. Even family attitudes began to be subject to correction from the point of view of economic interests—even the matter of having children is coming to be regarded from this point of view, though many farmers will aver it is sin to consider such things in that way. But the fact is that economic ideas instead of traditional beliefs more and more furnish the material for justifications and corrections of attitudes. The result is that attitudes are changing more rapidly than heretofore. For the economic ideas are new material as compared with the beliefs of the past, so that explanations often change attitudes instead of preserving them unchanged. While, therefore, economic attitudes have been fundamental throughout rural development, at first their functioning was obscured by the prominence of religious and other beliefs as justifying material. At the present time not only are economic attitudes fundamental but also economic ideas are becoming predominant. This means that the farmer is becoming less subjective and more objective in his behavior. He is correcting his attitudes in the light of objective conditions.

This greater absorption in objective conditions is an absorption not merely in the material side of life but also in social contacts. Relations with physical nature predominated in the early days and acquisitiveness was the dominant disposition. Then, in the first period of expansion, farmers were released somewhat from the hard discipline of the physical environment and village influences stimulated rivalry among them. The pleasure activity of village people at this time was quite conspicuously a satisfaction of the rivalrous

disposition. Farmers' families joined in this activity if they had the means but the villagers were the acknowledged leaders. Then came extreme agricultural depression and, at the same time, facilities for agricultural education developed in the state. Intelligent farmers developed a habit of thinking on their problems as their fathers had not. Most of them were not what would be called "well educated" but, as one of them said, "I learned to think, and I learned to keep still when I had nothing to say. I have observed that some educated men have not learned that." So we may say, as indicated in Chapter II, that, in the early days, farmers were primarily interested in the conventional process of work; then they became more rivalrous and centered on the financial results of work; now an increasing number are becoming absorbed in the problems of work. To be sure this problem interest is for the sake of financial results, but problems are more numerous and absorbing than before—problems of improving quality of products, marketing problems, and others. This problem interest is limited to a small percentage of farmers. Possibly it always will be. But their influence is out of all proportion to their numbers. Agriculture opens up opportunities for problem solving, for discussion with one's fellows, which are an important means of self-development. However, this development of the intellectual disposition thus far is narrowly limited. As was pointed out in a preceding chapter, in their attitudes to most problems outside their work farmers are still largely subject to the impressions and satisfied with the emotional attitudes derived from reading the newspapers.

The economic interpretation is further supported by the type of leadership which the rural awakening has brought to the fore. The clergyman failed to come to the front as a leader in the rural awakening;[2] so did the politician; and this was true not only in the United States but also in Europe.[3] The leadership that developed included men of two classes. First, there were those in whom the traditional attitudes and sentiments were strong and whose thinking was a good deal determined by these sentiments. They were visionary men rather than men of vision. They included not only farmers but moneyed men who were willing to be rural leaders. They could tell just what ought to be done but were unable to do anything effectively and so eventually assumed the rôle of critics of the organizations that did develop. The rôle these men have played is most interesting. They combined in their characters along with their personal attitudes

certain strong neighborhood attitudes of the olden time, and their plans as to what ought to be done sprang from these neighborhood attitudes, so that certain of their ideas strongly appealed to the great mass of still individualistic farmers.

The second class of leaders consisted, for the most part, of farmers of unusual personal force and sagacity, who had made money and were successful in the ways in which most farmers seek success. These leaders combined the prestige of success as farmers with that power of carrying conviction that results from an understanding of those whom they lead. Men who moved into the rural districts and bought farms and led the life of country gentlemen, from whose leadership much was expected because they had leisure and good intentions and education, often failed to make good as leaders. In the ordinary neighborly relations a farmer does not have confidence in a rich neighbor. He does not imitate him, even though his methods seem successful. His idea is that those methods "may be all right for a rich man but not for me." For the same reason he is likely to distrust a rich man as a leader in an agricultural movement. The gentleman farmer not only does not understand the bona fide farmer but also lacks the sagacity and persistence that successful leadership requires. The efficient leaders were these successful farmers scattered throughout the rural communities of the state. They were shrewd enough to see that an objective that fitted in with the strongest desires of a mass of farmers, that is, a coöperative scheme to eliminate the middleman, would succeed if worked out in all its details with business shrewdness and on sound business principles. So, through their influence and support, one coöperative organization after another developed.

In preceding chapters it has been shown that farmers were in some degree prepared for this development of coöperation. Here again the economic interpretation comes to the fore. First, the severe competition of New York farmers with the West had resulted in the elimination of the least intelligent farmers. Second, the practice of making contracts with middlemen and the regulations of farming operations enforced by companies of middlemen and by the state had taught the individualistic farmer to recognize some power above himself in his economic relations. This prepared him to acquiesce in the centralized control exercised by a coöperative organization. Third, farmers had passed from interest in the process of work to interest in its financial results. This awakened them to the need of doing

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business through their own business representatives. Fourth, the leaders who came forward to make coöperation effective were the farmers of constructive mind who were willing to forego any possible personal gain of the moment for the sake of a larger gain in the long run. They were able in some degree to inspire farmers with this constructive outlook. These qualities of leadership are, of course, not a product of economic conditions but of individual variation, and, therefore, the unusual individual does not come entirely under the economic interpretation. But without the changes in the farmers themselves already described, which were due largely to economic conditions, the leaders could have had little influence in the direction of coöperation. They would have played the individualistic rôle that such men played in the first period of expansion. The leaders were not such merely because of superior mental endowments. Coöperation seemed to them the logical next step in economic development. However, this extraordinary capacity to understand the trend of development and the idealism that goes with it is, of course, not a product of economic conditions but of unusual personal endowment. In marked contrast with the idealist's disregard of economic considerations in his absorption in putting through the product of his constructive imagination is the ordinary man's interest in the mere income and creature comforts of the moment. The economic interpretation rests more largely on processes that move the rank and file than on those of leaders.

Material means and social contacts are the essential conditions of satisfaction for the mass of people. While material means and social contacts are distinct, satisfying social contacts depend a good deal on material means. Whether the members of the family are cheerful and obliging or grouchy depends somewhat on their material satisfactions and this depends on the income of the family. Not only in the family but in the community the kind and variety of social contacts depends more or less on income. All this is as true for the farmer as for other men.

On the quality of one's face-to-face relations depends a large part of the enjoyment of life. In the case of the farmer his life is largely bound up with contacts with his family. To whom does he naturally turn for a moment's diversion or for comfort in depression? Not even to the neighbors but to his own family. It requires very little reflection to see that the individual's happiness is more bound up with the people that constitute his family group than with all the

world besides. Especially in rural life is the family fundamental. Wherefore its economic condition should be such as to enable reasonable and industrious people to enjoy a high quality of life and to safeguard themselves against the needs of the future. Only under these conditions can the members of a farmer's family maintain the hopefulness that makes their contact with one another a means of satisfaction.

Next in importance to contacts within the family are those with the community. There are the intimate contacts between families, the contacts of the recreational centers, of the church, the Grange, the stores, the village street, the wayside. Most of the talk in the home is about these experiences, among the children about the school. Therefore, a considerable part of the satisfactions of life depends on the kind of community in which the farmer lives. The importance of these community associations is not fully realized. The farmer has been too much under the spell of the village as the village has been too much under the spell of the neighboring city. The city press has given much attention to the doings of the wealthy men and the social leaders of the city, and the rural weeklies have chronicled with excessive adulation the doings of the socially élite of the village, and the farmer has felt the comparison between this and his humdrum life. So, many well-to-do farmers, under the suggestion of their wives, have let their families be drawn into the social rivalry that centered in the villages, with little or no discrimination as to the real worth of what was discarded or adopted from this motive. The first requisite in developing a rural community is to cease to be moved by the suggestions of village and city life to the disparagement of the country. Our rural heritage, intelligently evaluated and corrected as required by changed conditions, is still in good part the basis of civilization.

If the rural awakening is to come to its full fruition, there must be efficient leadership. The leaders should include the rural school teachers, the editors of the local weeklies, the clergymen, and the intelligent farmers and farm women everywhere. It is said of the editor that, while the purpose of his paper is to entertain and inform the people of the community, this can be done most effectively by appreciating and reporting the good things they say and do, that is, the things that are apropos from the point of view of the development of rural civilization. Says one editor, "This is the distinctive type of rural journalism which I believe can be developed in any community,

large or small." [4] The clergymen also may coöperate by making the churches centers for the interpretation and enjoyment of the best in rural civilization. The rural schools should become similar centers and there are conspicuous instances where this has been done, though less successfully in New York than in some other states. On this point the reader is referred to that inspiring book by Evelyn Dewey, *New Schools for Old.* She describes the socialization of a decadent rural neighborhood in Missouri by a master builder of rural civilization. Mrs. Harvey, the teacher of the school, had been a successful teacher in the state normal school. She had seen children from the rural districts come to the city schools and gradually become weaned away from their homes and from farm life. That homes might not thus be broken up and rural life discredited, she agreed to take charge of a broken-down rural school not far from the city for three years and to try to make the rural community a place attractive to children and young people. She went ahead, in the face of prejudices and opposition, to make not merely a good school but a good *country* school. The aim was to draw the families of the neighborhood together, to work not for them but with them. She made her own home a demonstration of what every home in the community might become, even to the kitchen. She enlisted the interest of the children in their studies by connecting these with their own family life and problems. She carried education into the homes of the children by explaining to the fathers and mothers what they could do to make the children happy and contented in the home and the community in spite of the distractions of the near-by city. Everything she taught and did was from the point of view of the development of the community. "Mrs. Harvey believes that it is the function of the teacher-leader to initiate this coöperation in a community; and it is through such work as this that she believes stable, progressive and prosperous farming populations will grow up. Certainly the picture of Porter today is one of hope and promise for the rising generations of farmers; while five years ago it was one of the most discouraged of disintegrated communities." [5] This fascinating picture of rural reconstruction may serve as a final word on the importance of the change in rural education suggested in a previous chapter, and as a challenge to prove whether what was done in Missouri can be done in New York.

There are accredited leaders among the rural population who maintain that this development of the rural community is next to impos-

sible. They point out that the number of rural weekly papers in the state diminished during the second period of expansion, owing to increased costs of publication and to the impossibility of raising subscription and advertising rates sufficiently to meet the increased costs. They say the rural editor is in a bad way and they believe the decrease in their number will continue. It is maintained, also, that rural school teachers will continue to be merely agents for getting children through examinations and that rural clergymen will fail to become community leaders. In spite of these discouragements economic changes are promoting a new community life. The agricultural organizations have furnished projects for the concerted action of farmers by communities. In spite of the disadvantage suffered by the American farmer, as compared with the European, in living scattered over the countryside,[6] thus making coöperation difficult, the coöperative and other farm organizations are helping to develop a community life. Once these organizations have increased the prosperity of the farmer, the rural paper, the school and the church may become more effective agencies for rural progress.

Economic factors are, then, essential in the development of the rural community. As professional and business men have long been organized under their own leaders for the realization of their economic interests, as skilled and unskilled workmen are organizing with the same purpose, so are the farmers. What of the future? A study in social psychology does not furnish a basis for prediction as to the future but some of its findings claim consideration. First, we note that the motives of the individual members of an organization are not to be identified with the psychological processes disclosed by a study of the principles and aims of the organization. For instance, the soldiers of an army may have various motives for being there, but, regardless of their personal impulses, they all must accept, outwardly at least, the purpose of the organization, and must be moved by processes that move all. Just so the farmers of a coöperative league may have various motives for being in it but all alike must accept its aims and must be moved by certain processes that move all if the organization is to hang together and realize its aims. However, the degree in which a member of an organization can identify himself with the organization depends on the degree in which his own personal motives are in accord with its principles and aims. For a time, a crowd enthusiasm may overcome the most diverse personal motives and points of view, but in the long run the effectiveness of an organization de-

pends on the members being personally in accord with it. In fact its real purpose is likely, ultimately, to be determined by the attitudes of its most forceful members. Wherefore, an organization seeks to educate its members in order to bring their attitudes into line with its aims. Thus, during the World War, the soldiers were given instruction in the war aims in order that their ideas and attitudes might be brought into accord therewith. In like manner constant education of the members of farmers' coöperatives is necessary in order to give the organizations an effective solidarity.

A second point to consider is the relation of farmers' organizations to the public welfare. The mere fact that an organization is engaged in furnishing materials that satisfy men's needs does not prove that that organization is performing a social service. Such a conclusion from such a premise is mere empty logic. The services of a railroad may be indispensable and yet the administration of the road may be so centered on private profits or so controlled by rule of thumb and out-of-date methods that the road falls short as a public servant. In like manner manufacturers are not serving the public just because they are producing clothing or utensils, and a farmer's organization is not serving the public just because its members are producing food. It has not been proved true that the members of an organization may be centered on private profits and yet the organization may adequately serve the public welfare. Rather is absorption in private profits likely to militate against the public welfare. Because of the many organizations that are centered on their private profits there is a conflict of interests among them, with a constant necessity of adjusting these conflicts in the interest of the public welfare; this more and more requires the intervention of the state in so-called private business. As long as men are intent primarily on their own gain and combine in groups jointly to seek their own gain, this conflict of interests and the necessity of constant adjustment will continue to be the essential political process, and the realization of the public welfare will be a more or less fortuitous outcome.

Social organization is taking the direction of the organization of men of like economic interests. Workmen have had to fight their way in this development; employers have organized more easily because of their comparatively small numbers, and their organizations have functioned with less opposition because the members were of the socially and politically dominant class. And now come the farmers' organizations. It seems inevitable that these will develop a more

or less centralized administration, and will require a good deal of expert knowledge. Such a development has its dangers. We see organizations of labor, business corporations, and political parties pass under control of little oligarchies which put their own interests and prejudices first. This sometimes happens to agricultural organizations. The fact that the officers are elected by the members of an organization does not prevent this. The mass of members may be ignorant of the situation, the few who understand it may attempt to enlighten them but the oligarchy may have entrenched itself by means of rules and patronage and influence until it is impossible for the progressive few to reform the organization. The tendency to oligarchical control does not come necessarily from low motives. Leaders tend to get removed from the real problems of those they serve, to get absorbed in administration and in their own theories. This is even true of state agricultural experiment stations, as well as of farmers' organizations. Farmers are not as likely to correct these evil tendencies as are some other groups. For, when a leadership has won the loyalty of farmers, the attitude of loyalty persists in spite of a decadence of the leadership. As manual workers they are absorbed in their work and, once they have found reason to trust a leadership, they are loath to change their attitude. The efficiency of agricultural experiment stations and farm organizations depends, then, on the eternal vigilance of the farmer leaders scattered throughout the rural districts of the state.

Has the organization of farmers any political significance? Cooperation is teaching farmers to see the political aspects of their economic interests, and the coöperative units can unite for political action whenever their common interests require it. The emphasis should be on the farmer's reliance on himself, not on the government. But, in the course of the development of coöperation, the political needs of the farmer will become evident and organization will naturally develop for the satisfaction of those needs. Farmers need political influence for the following reasons: (1) to protect their cooperative organizations from enemies, which may attack them through adverse legislation and adverse court actions; (2) to protect themselves against monopoly and profiteering in commodities used by farmers, for instance, coal, gasoline, farm machinery; (3) to protect themselves against illegitimate practices that raise the prices of agricultural products without benefiting the farmer, for instance, gambling in those products; (4) to secure legislation to improve the quality

and lower the price of fertilizer; (5) to achieve a just system of taxation; (6) to prevent transportation rates being fixed to the injury of the farmer; (7) to secure credit on reasonable terms.[7] Farmers need to be strong politically not only to realize these economic aims but also to defend themselves against other economic groups whose political interests are opposed to theirs. Even the individualistic farmers of the early days were somewhat conscious of the opposition of their interests as a class to those of the financial centers.[8] For a time the farmers had their share of influence over government, but, as time went on, the larger propertied classes exercised a more and more pronounced influence. The more successful economic groups become so—not entirely but in some measure—by a guidance of political affairs in their own interest; and, having become so, they use their power to maintain their position of advantage. The importance of farmers having their due influence in politics, therefore, should be recognized.

In addition to the organizations for coöperative buying of supplies and selling of products there are the organizations for learning scientific farming. The unorganized farmer has not the incentive to learn the fine points of farming that one has who is a member of an organization for that purpose. For the tendency is not to think and improve one's methods unless the incentive is thrust upon one, as it is when one is a member of an organization in which the attention of all is centered on certain projects. Furthermore, for every economic group, for the organized labor of the shops and factories as well as for the farmers, the line of advance lies, in the last analysis, in greater efficiency in production. As soon as a labor union, by forcing rises in wages, has absorbed the profits of the employer, as a few of the most efficient unions have done in the case of some of the most inefficient employers, then a further rise in wages can come only through greater efficiency in the shops. Waste must be eliminated, workmen must work more rapidly and skillfully, sales must be increased by improving the quality or increasing the variety of goods. Just so the farmers must eventually depend for increase of income on greater efficiency in production. This requires a minimum cost of tools, machinery and supplies. That is, it requires coöperation in buying. It also requires standardization of products and proper distribution and merchandising which is possible through coöperation in selling. And finally it requires scientific farming. This whole development depends on the organization of farmers and the employment of experts to

direct the affairs of the organizations. The purposes of these organizations must be revised and restated as the mechanisms for achieving the purposes are invented. So we come back to the vital requirement of expert administration. The farmer must insist on having experts direct his organizations, must back their proposals and trust their judgment where he cannot understand. This respect for experts is to be fostered by developing in each individual farmer, as far as possible, the attitudes of the expert, that is, of the scientific farmer.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF COÖPERATION

THIS book would be incomplete without some indication of the significance of coöperation for the course of civilization. The development of a rural population is not an isolated process but, in its wider aspects, is a part of the course of civilization and we should see it, if possible, from that point of view. Coöperation is the most significant process in the rural development not only of the United States but also of European nations. It is one of the distinctive processes of modern civilization as compared with ancient and mediæval.

The ancient civilizations passed through several periods, a period of struggle with nature and enemies for a foothold, followed by a period of development of resources and of national enrichment, this by a cultural flowering and decadence, and this by collapse. Each of these periods has well-defined indications. Essential among the indications of the period of struggle are economic independence and individual assertiveness, economic equality and comradeship, self-restraint and adherence to custom. The second period is one of enrichment and rise to power over their fellows of the individuals and groups capable of domination. Slavery, with its beginnings in the preceding period, develops and becomes a vast institution of exploitation. Among freemen there are restrictions on independence, and assertiveness is less associated with personal superiority than before and more with wealth and position. Economic inequality develops and the primitive comradeship passes. Self-restraint weakens among the socially superior, as does adherence to the old customs. The third stage is the progression of the preceding one to its logical outcome. The status of those who have won power and riches is passed to arrogant descendants. Domination, contemptuous exclusiveness and self-indulgence mark the ruling classes, and submissiveness, with periods of resentment, and a tendency to coarse revelry and indulgence of repressed impulses characterize the masses. Some of the wealthy aim to increase their prestige by acting as patrons of the talented, whose

works constitute the flower of this period. The nation as a whole is incapable of sustained and effective action in a crisis and collapse eventually comes.

We should study the development of our own civilization in the light of what is to be learned from the rise and fall of others. The first period of rural development was one of economic independence, of excessive exertion in acquisition of wealth, of individual assertiveness and emphasis on personal liberty, of economic equality and the comradeship of all workers, of self-restraint and adherence to law and custom. In this period there was little capital available and all had to work with their hands. So people did not have the annoyance of feeling that there were some among them who were above the common lot of daily work. The second period, which we have called the period of expansion, was one of the enrichment of various individuals who held positions of economic advantage. Thus developed inequality. The wealthy still professed the beliefs of the early days, but their attitudes diverged more and more from those of the primitive neighborhood. They were the people of prestige and their influence was potent. The second period of rural expansion was characterized by the coöperative movement which was an economic movement against middlemen who were profiting at the farmer's expense. This movement is still in its infancy and it is uncertain as to how far it will go. During the second period, also, there was an incipient movement against monopoly, whereby business corporations profit at the expense of consumers by their power to exact monopoly prices. It is uncertain, also, how far this will go.

The fundamental reason for the decay of the civilizations of the past is that wealth largely passed into the hands of a minority, who acquired an hereditary status and were able to keep the masses in subjection and to exploit them for their own satisfaction. These few used their wealth and power not for the spread of ideas which would enlighten the whole people, and not for the promotion of conditions which would strengthen the group in a crisis but for their own self-indulgence and the maintenance of their domination. Consequently, resistance of their domination was the essential requisite for the maintenance of the civilization, but the rank and file were unable to make any effective resistance. There were progressive leaders among the aristocracies of these ancient civilizations, but the reforms which they attempted and in some cases put through were eventually suppressed.

Civilization in the United States has entered the second period of

the development of civilization, and there are indications of the rise of a dominant class. Whether the nation will pass to the third and fourth periods or become indefinitely progressive depends on the effectiveness with which reactionary capitalistic interests are resisted. Instead of the third and fourth periods that have characterized civilization in the past, it is conceivably possible to make our third stage one of the coöperation of heretofore antagonistic groups and classes for the progress of the whole.[1]

A rural population is, for several reasons, in a stronger position for constructive resistance than any other.[2] First, in the production of crops and animals, machinery is less used than in manufacturing and, consequently, the small enterprise persists in agriculture. So, large capitalistic interests have not as yet, except in certain sections, got possession of farming land in New York or in the United States. The most profitable way to make money in agriculture is not to invest in farms but to leave them in possession of the farmers and then be in a position to control the selling of the farm supplies and the marketing of the products. Second, as a result of the above conditions farmers own their instruments of production, as workmen in factory and mine do not, and these instruments include the means of their own subsistence. Wherefore, farmers are more independent than are mine and factory workmen and hence are in a stronger position for resistance of exploitation of capitalistic interests. Third, farmers excel in certain attitudes that are absolutely essential to civilization, for instance, self-restraint. This is due to their occupation, their isolation and their traditions. Self-restraint is for several reasons favorable to a constructive resistance. First, it strengthens men to endure hardships and to curb their own unruly impulses. Civilization implies the curbing of the anarchic forces of human wilfulness and has been described as organized self-restraint. Second, self-restraint results in the saving of money and the accumulation of capital, which is necessary for production. Third, self-restraint effectuates sexual control, which results in strength of family ties, which favors an effective rearing of children.

The possibilities of maintaining and improving our present civilization are greater than for others because we have the experience of preceding civilizations to learn from and we have carried the process of learning further than others. We have, then, this incentive, that we know the course our civilization will take unless we react upon the conditions that have wrecked preceding civilizations, as they appear

in our own. But this reaction requires such a dissemination and effective use of ideas as has not heretofore seemed possible.

Rural coöperation is intimately related to this importance of ideas for civilization. Coöperation is essentially a psychological process. It implies the use of ideas on the part of men of like interests to shape their social organization in accordance with their interests. Where coöperation has succeeded best, as in Denmark, the farmers have not ceased to be essentially producers. They are producers capable of using ideas to advance their interests. Says Professor Branson: "The Danish farmer, like most other farmers, is wholly occupied with production, but the Danish farmer, unlike most other farmers in the rest of the world, has devised a plan that enables him to give all his time and attention to the production of farm wealth." "The outside middlemen are not warned off the lot but as a matter of fact they keep off the farmers' business territory because the farmers beat them at their own game. . . . They keep their hands on their own farm wealth every inch of the way from the farmers' fields to the consumers' tables. They even own and operate the Danish food shops in London and Manchester. They not only produce farm wealth in raw forms, but they put this raw wealth into fit forms for final consumption. That is to say, they have set up their own manufacturing industries and they operate them themselves. Or they employ expert managers from the outside—men trained by experience in the intricate arts of manufacture and salesmanship.

"Their buying associations are bent upon purchasing wholesale quantities in ship or car lots for cash at the lowest market price—feeding stuffs, artificial manures, coal, cement, seeds and the like.

"Not only this, but their insurance associations are also coöperative, which means that the coöperating farm groups carry their own insurance on their lives, buildings and equipments, livestock and crops. . . .

"But even more the farmers coöperate to generate their own electric currents, to build and operate their own water works, flour mills, bakeries and saw mills. . . .

"But the inventory is not yet concluded. The Danish farmers started in 1850 to assemble their own resources, create their own credit machines . . . today there are 168 farm credit unions in Denmark and they abundantly supply on the basis of character the productive capital needed by the small-scale and middle-class farmers." "Here in brief is an explanation of why the Danish farmers are the richest

farmers on earth. They are rich because they produce, manufacture, finance, and market their own products." [3] This description shows that coöperation involves changes in economic organization that require a considerable capacity for ideas. This requirement is as true for the United States as for Denmark. The development of cooperation requires thinking. Most of the thinking is done by the leaders but the rank and file of farmers have to think sufficiently to change their individualistic attitudes and acquiesce in the new coöperative measures. All the leaders ask of the state is to legalize what they do, but bringing this about requires a united front on the part of the farmers, for the legal system that has developed in the direction of the economic advantage of capitalistic interests will not be altered very far in the interest of the farmers unless they insist on it.

The farmers of New York are awakening to the fact that certain aspects of the present economic system are disadvantageous to their interests. The two aspects most distrusted are "middlemen" and "monopoly." But monopoly is back and out of sight, so that the distrust centers on middlemen. As said in a previous chapter, farmers often show little feeling against any particular middleman but vent their discontent against "the middleman," the symbolic middleman. They think of him as the creature of the system, which they do not understand, and so vent their resentment sentimentally against a fictitious person, symbolic of that aspect of the economic system which is contrary to their interests. There are several reasons for this avoidance of resentment against particular middlemen. One is the farmer's sense of fairness. He senses the fact that the middleman is merely part of a system and that, from his point of view, he is doing nothing unfair. He is simply attending to his business, like other men, though his business has an aspect of unfairness to the farmer. Another reason is that the dealer may be a man pleasant to meet, and with a manner in dealing with farmers that wins their respect. Still another reason is the fact that the dealer, in trying to make all he can out of his deals, is simply doing what the shrewdest farmers always have done. Wherefore, for a long time many farmers persistently refused to see anything unfair in the marketing system. Farmers have, from the early days, thought a man was justified in taking advantage of his superior knowledge and shrewdness to profit in a transaction even at another's expense, though generally they refrained from such behavior in dealing with friends and neighbors. The coöperative movement has encountered no greater obstacle than

the prevalence of this attitude among farmers, as a result of which they could see nothing really wrong in the behavior of the dealer. He was merely doing what farmers have always assumed the right to do and what many have practiced on occasion. The dealer was simply more successful at the game. Nothing commends the co-operative movement more than that it implies getting away from this extreme individualism. Farmers are coming to realize that neither for dealers nor for themselves is it permissible to profit unconscionably at another's expense. This change of attitude is likely eventually to make them more critical toward business practices.

Though farmers are awakening to the fact that certain aspects of the economic system are contrary to their interests, it is not yet certain in how far they have the capacity for ideas that will enable them to do much about it. It is difficult to ascertain a population's capacity for ideas, because the study always is of its capacity under the existing conditions. With a better system of education the rural population doubtless would become more capable. Under present conditions its capacity does not appear very reassuring from the point of view of the part it should play in maintaining an indefinitely progressive civilization in the United States. Among the rank and file interest in ideas has been limited to those that satisfy impulses or justify attitudes. When behavior has changed it has been by yielding to new impulses, not by a reflective use of ideas. Ideas have been used mainly to justify new impulses or to maintain attitudes in which people were set. The use of ideas to justify impulses was conspicuous in the expansion of rural life. There was a passing of isolation. Villages were connected with the cities by railroads and trolley lines, and the villagers and country people had a greater variety of goods and social contacts. There was an increase of social activity in the churches, clubs and places of amusement. Thus the first process of social change was the stimulation of the impulses of the people, of impulses for novelty, for pretty things, for sociability, for superiority. Against this wave of impulse the austere people, who maintained the traditional attitudes of our rural heritage, set themselves; but even they changed as time went on.

This increased impulsiveness of the rank and file represents a difference between the present and preceding civilizations. Heretofore increased social stimulation affected only the few—the landowning aristocracy and rich townsmen. The masses were forbidden by law and custom to have things, even if the more lucky of them had the

means to buy. They had no part in the elaborate and costly ceremonies of religion, except to suffer the exploitation required to support them, and there was no popular education. The modern factory system has immensely increased the variety of things within reach of the masses, and modern religion and education are intended for the masses. Whether or not all this serves the welfare of the masses in any vital sense is not here considered. The point is that the new things and the new social contacts, the popular religion and education are widely disseminated; life has taken on a more impulsive aspect than in civilizations heretofore, and this has affected the rural districts.

The rural population has been subjected to increased social stimulation but its income has not increased, in fact, it decreased for a time. But during this time there were everywhere conspicuously successful middlemen. Many dealers among the farmers made large accumulations while even the best farmers did not. Some dealers were also farmers and, as dealers, accumulated thirty or forty thousand dollars while, as farmers, they made no profits at all. No one knew better than dealers themselves that farming did not yield an adequate return when the capital invested and the labor and experience required for successful farming were considered.

This unfortunate situation was and is due in part to expensive, and therefore wasteful methods of supplying the materials and distributing the products of the farms.[4] These methods have developed in a haphazard way, and the planlessness of the system makes waste inevitable. The changes that come under the head of coöperation are planned to avoid this waste. Not all middlemen are eliminated. In Denmark the "middlemen do not get the bulk of the consumer's money, the farmers get it. I find plenty of middlemen in Denmark, but they are the necessary middlemen, and the farmers have sense enough to know that they are necessary. . . . As for superfluous middlemen, they disappeared from Denmark long ago, or most of them, for the farmers beat them at the game. . . ."[5] In New York, in some cases middlemen have been eliminated by coöperation; in other cases a scheme of coöperation has been worked out between the two groups whereby the middlemen have a part of the marketing function and the farmer's coöperative enterprise a part. Once the conception of waste gets hold of coöperative leaders, coöperation is seen to be fraught with possibilities of economies which the system of competitive middlemen would never have been able to achieve.

The elimination of waste as a thorough-going policy was not known

to ancient civilizations. The conception of waste will eventually broaden to include the waste due to parasitism, an evil which the ancient civilizations never were able to touch. Fortunes made by lucky speculation, including speculation in farm produce, tend to parasitism; for easy money makes business men indolent and inefficient,[6] just as too high wages make wage earners inefficient, and any condition that encourages indolence and inefficiency is a cause of waste. Easy money not only renders those who make it inefficient but also discourages the hard-working rank and file because of the evident injustice of a small return for the hardest kind of work while others make fortunes by luck. This discouragement causes indifferent and inefficient work —another aspect of waste. Still another is the low vitality that results from hard work with inadequate income. The national efficiency requires conservation of the national vitality. Thus the conception of waste is one of wide import, in which our civilization excels those of the ancients. There the riches and indolence of the ruling classes were considered to be their God-given right.

This broad significance of coöperation for the course of civilization has never occurred to most farmers. They have merely reacted against the symbolic middleman. Not until recently have they made any effective move against middlemen in particular. As said above, sentiment prevented this. Until the last decade of the first period of rural expansion, dealers in produce were highly esteemed among the farmers. The dealer was the conspicuously successful man of the community and material success stirs admiration. He usually lived in the village, attended church and contributed liberally. He knew the farmers by their first names. His family frequently figured in the news items of the community paper. He was considered an asset to the community. Then the more intelligent farmers gradually awakened to the fact that the dealer was rich at their expense. Dealers sometimes boasted of this. A fruit buyer who had built a cold storage plant boasted that he did it with the money he had made out of the farmers. The boast was quoted by certain farmers with some resentment but the majority seemed indifferent. Another factor in the increasing resentment was the fact that dealers sometimes moved out of the hamlet or village and took up their abode in the neighboring city. They were no longer an asset to the community. Resentment against dealers has perhaps been most pronounced among dairymen. With the increase of the fluid milk business, the buying of milk passed into the hands of large companies of absentee stock-

holders. Not being residents of the community there was none of the regard for them that was felt for a resident dealer. So eventually there was a shifting of social control from the dealers to the farmers who were agitating coöperation.

In accounting for the control exercised by the aristocracies of ancient civilizations we have to give a large place to the popular adulation of the wealthy. This has been conspicuous even in free America. Sometimes the only prestige a community had was that reflected on it by some rich individual. The wealthy and influential dealer gave his community a kind of prestige. Many farmers were loath to go into a coöperative enterprise because it would injure the dealer. This sympathy for the dealer was a source of much amusement in the families of coöperative leaders. The leader had to attack the prestige of the dealer. He had to meet the argument that the dealer "is one of the most valuable men in this community." To this he replied, "I don't think so at all. He has made his money out of our toil." To say this took courage. It made an enemy of the dealer, who was a man of power. Farmers were dependent on him to take their crops and animals. It also made an enemy of the admirer who was told his admiration was uncalled for. A farmer, of all men, does not like to make enemies in his own community.

The eventual result was a shifting of control from the dealer to the coöperative leader. This was primarily a matter of impulse, not of ideas. It was due to the discontent and the accumulation of resentments described in a preceding chapter. Farmers came to feel with coöperative leaders and to accept their attitudes without necessarily understanding their ideas. But the ideas were indispensable for the leader; so, of course, they were necessary for the success of the movement. And, as said above, the rank and file must have some ideas in order to consent to change at all. For, unless a condition is desperate, there is always the fear that a change may make it worse, unless there are definite ideas of possible betterment.

Thus far coöperation has been confined to eliminating evils that lie plainly within the ken of the farmer. Back and out of view is the complex system of middlemen not in contact with the farmer, and also the great and growing system of private monopoly. Professor Ross writes: "The margin between manufacturers' prices and what the farmer pays, between consumers' prices and what a farmer gets is wider than it was a generation ago. In each line—lumber, agricultural implements, fertilizer, and the rest—the farmers either

support more middlemen's families, or else furnish them a better livelihood than they used to get. This is owing to the spread of the practice of price-supporting among manufacturers, wholesalers and dealers." [7] In corroboration of this he quotes from an address by Hon. Houston Thompson of the Federal Trade Commission on March 6, 1924: "In almost every industry today . . . they don't name or fix a set price. They fix a minimum price . . . which is *high enough to cover their highest-cost plants.* It is high enough to take care of a sufficient number of independents and their high-cost plants so that there will be a scenery behind the monopoly—the dominating interest, if you wish to call it that—sufficient to make a pretense of competition." [8] The independent cannot go below this minimum price. "Now there is still another group who block the market place. It is composed of jobbers' organizations. With them you have price-fixing going on—literally price-fixing. . . . So far as my experience dates back in the Federal Trade Commission, there is more price-fixing and price-control going on in the market today than at any other time I have known." [9] Consequently, says Commissioner Thompson, the farmer buys in an artificial, price-rigged market. And, he asks, what is the use of loaning money to the farmer thus handicapped. The essential thing is to deflate these artificial, high prices. This requires governmental regulation of private monopoly, which must be effective before the condition of the farmer will be much improved. But what if those business interests control the federal government and prevent effective regulation? [10]

The significance of coöperation, from the point of view of the constructive resistance of politically dominant interests, lies in this, that farmers will gain nothing by mere appeals for government aid. For the aid given by an adversely controlled government would not consist of the reforms in economic organization most needed. Wherefore the only effective procedure is coöperation for self-help. However, a cooperative that merely eliminates middlemen leaves the farmer between the price-rigged market maintained by the manufacturers of whom he buys his supplies and the price-rigged market maintained by interests to which he sells. So we come again to the inevitable necessity of the cooperation of the various coöperatives and other farmers' organizations for political action looking toward the effective regulation of monopoly. For while the most obvious political alignment is that of the great parties that contest with one another for control of the government, the ultimate political process is that of the conflict of economic interests for

control of the dominant parties and through them for control of the government.[11] Monopolistic business groups, competitive business groups, organized labor, organized farmers are some of the different economic interests that thus struggle to control or to defend themselves against control. Farmers are beginning to realize that this political process is inevitable and that they are powerless unless organized. The point is not to look to their government for aid but to organize to contest with the controlling interests. In this process the public welfare is a fortuitous outcome. But it seems inevitable that, in the long run, the groups that intelligently keep in view the public welfare will win the support of the people. Thus may the rural population play its part with other forward-looking economic groups in maintaining a progressive civilization.

NOTES

PREFACE

[1] American Newspaper Annual and Directory, 1924, 672–762. The data here recorded are for papers in existence in 1924. Some papers which ran for many years were discontinued before 1924 but furnish valuable files, so that this record is incomplete as a record of sources. Some papers cited as established since 1900 really were established before that time but changed their name and have valuable early files under another name.

[2] See his Scientific Study of Human Society.

CHAPTER I

[1] Williams, Principles of Social Psychology, Bk. I; Dewey, Human Nature and Conduct, 41.

[2] Allport, Social Psychology, 80; Koffka, The Growth of the Mind, 122; Kantor, Principles of Psychology, 67, 83, 166, 375.

[3] Dewey, Experience and Nature, 25.

[4] Bernard, Instinct, 497.

[5] Kephart, Our Southern Highlanders, 30.

[6] Commons, Legal Foundations of Capitalism, 111, 118–119.

[7] Branson, Farm Life Abroad, Ch. XXVII.

[8] Ibid. 103.

[9] Ibid. 225–227.

[10] Dewey, op. cit., 41.

[11] Williams, Principles of Social Psychology, 141.

[12] Williams, The Foundations of Social Science, 337.

[13] Fourteenth Census, Vol. VI, Pt. I, 14.

CHAPTER II

[1] Kallen, Education, the Machine and the Worker.

[2] Allport, op. cit., 280–281.

[3] Williams, Principles of Social Psychology, Ch. II.

[4] Ibid. 17.

CHAPTER III

[1] Köhler, The Mentality of Apes, 300–302.

CHAPTER V

[1] Fippin, Rural New York, 75–78.

[2] Mitchell, Business Cycles, 22–23, 44–45, 56–57, 239, 456; Warren and Pearson, Milk Prices and Prices of Industrial Stocks, N. Y. College of Agric., Farm Economics, No. 23, Apr. 10, 1925, 264.

[3] A rough index of the prosperity of New York farmers in the period 1874–1900 is furnished by the course of prices of the principal farm products. During the period the hay acreage of New York was the largest of any state in the union. The potato acreage was about twice as great as that of any other state. The buckwheat acreage was much greater than that of any other state. The oat acreage was greater than in any except four or five western states. More milk was produced in New York than in any other state. There was also a large wheat, barley and rye acreage, and a large production of sheep and swine. Farm prices of all these crops except apples are given in Table I. All the prices except for eggs and milk are taken from bulletins 56–58 and 60–64 of the Bureau of Statistics of the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. The egg prices are taken from bulletin 341 of the New York State College of Agriculture, pp. 196–197. The milk prices were obtained from the Milk Reporter by Mr. E. G. Misner of the New York State College of Agriculture.

The table shows a rise in the price of milk in 1882–1883; a rise in the price of cows in 1883–1884; a rise in the price of swine in 1882–1883; a rise in the price of sheep in 1880–1883 and some rise in 1890–1893; a rise in the price of hay in 1880–1881; a rise in the price of potatoes in 1881 and in 1890; a rise in the price of wheat in 1879 and 1881, in 1888 and in 1890–1891; a rise in the price of oats in 1879–1883 and 1890; a rise in the price of buckwheat in 1881–1883 and some rise in 1888 and 1890–1893; a rise in the price of rye in 1880–1881 and in 1890–1891; and rise in the price of eggs in 1881–1884, 1887–1888 and 1891–1893. So there were two periods of prosperity in the first period of rural expansion, one of pronounced prosperity in the early eighties, another of moderate prosperity in the early nineties.

Table I

Year	Average Farm Price in Dollars per 100 Pounds	Average Farm Price (Dollars) on Jan. 1 for the "Average Animal" and on Dec. 1 for Potatoes and Cereals per Bushel, for Hay per Ton										Average Wholesale Price (Dollars) in Cities, per Dozen
	Milk	Cows	Swine	Sheep	Hay	Potatoes	Wheat	Oats	Corn	Buckwheat	Rye	Eggs
1874	1.68	27.73	7.03	3.05	11.81	.51	1.14	.51	.84	.72	.83	.28
1875	1.69	33.57	8.82	3.38	12.21	.31	1.14	.38	.65	.58	.75	.25
1876	1.59	32.92	10 00	3.47	10.27	.73	1.20	.38	.62	.68	.75	.25
1877	1.54	32.44	8.62	3.32	9.34	.41	1.19	.34	.58	.72	.77	.21
1878	1.23	31.44	8.13	3.21	9 40	.81	1.02	.29	.50	.50	.58	.16
1879	1.10	23.35	6.02	2.99	9.39	.36	1.40	.40	.61	.54	.75	.18
1880	1.35	29.06	7.16	3.57	15.90	.42	1.17	.44	.57	.53	.83	.16
1881	1.38	26.66	7.81	3.57	14.55	.87	1.37	.48	.77	.82	.93	.22
1882	1.53	31.45	11.35	3.43	12 25	.61	1.10	.45	.77	.75	.76	.22
1883	1.54	37.93	10.96	4.08	10.50	.39	1.11	.40	.73	.86	.72	.23
1884	1.43	36.33	9.14	3.65	12.50	.39	.85	.35	.60	.56	.63	.22
1885	1.31	33.00	8.53	3.47	12.75	.45	.96	.36	.58	.53	.67	.19
1886	1.32	29.60	7.53	3.06	10.75	.41	.84	.35	.56	.52	.59	.19
1887	1.32	31.30	7.35	3.30	10.76	.62	.82	.37	.57	.53	.61	.21
1888	1.33	30.50	8.45	3.46	11.25	.38	1.10	.37	.58	.62	.63	.20
1889	1.22	29.60	8.70	3.32	9.00	.47	.90	.32	.49	.47	.55	.18
1890	1.24	28.11	7.27	3.54	7.75	.78	1.00	.50	.65	.58	.73	.19
1891	1.26	27.21	6.55	3.81	11.00	.37	1.00	.38	.66	.56	.88	.20
1892	1.26	26.18	7.49	3.80	11.00	.65	.85	.39	.60	.50	.65	.19
1893	1 31	26.36	8.88	3.81	11.33	.55	.76	.30	.55	.60	.63	.21
1894	1 24	25.78	9.02	2.85	9.66	.48	.62	.39	.61	.54	.54	.16
1895	1.19	27 57	7.65	2.27	13.70	.23	.68	.28	.45	.44	.48	.16
1896	1.10	24.30	6.50	2.38	12.04	.31	.88	.29	.38	.37	.44	.15
1897	1.10	24.20	6.61	2.68	8.25	.67	.90	.27	.40	.40	.48	.15
1898	1.12	32 00	7.24	4.04	5.75	.73	.72	.31	.43	.45	.50	.16
1899	1.19	33.55	6.54	4.23	10.45	.40	.80	.33	.45	.59	.56	.19
1900	1.29	35.20	7.06	4.07	14.05	.45	.77	.32	.47	.57	.56	.17

[4] Buck, The Granger Movement, 5.

[5] Fippin, op. cit., 195.

[6] Ibid. 196.

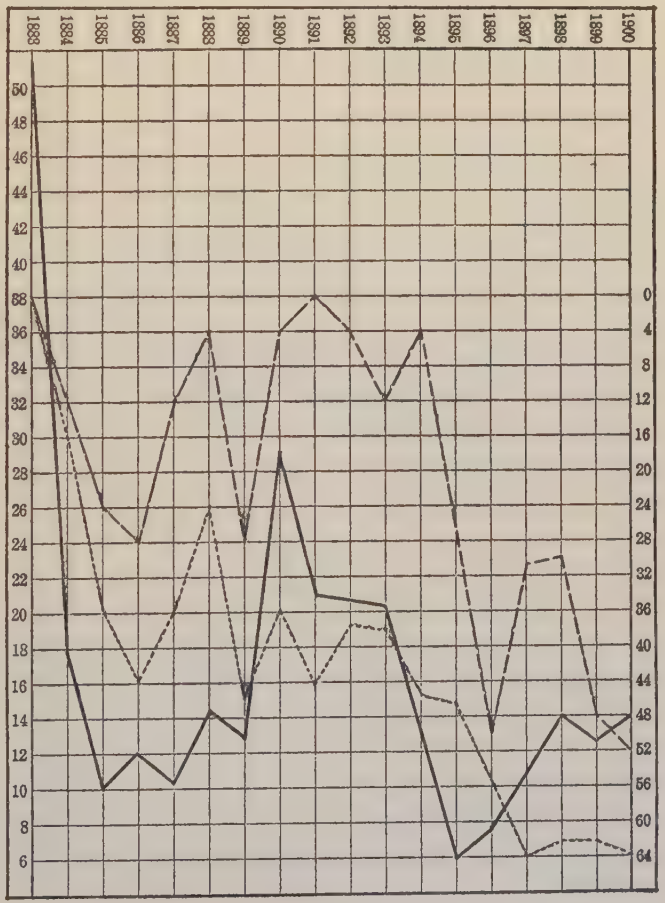
[7] Williams, Principles of Social Psychology, 87–94.

[8] The chief agricultural industries of our typical community during the second period were hop raising and dairying. In 1875 about 81 per cent of the total income of the farms was from the hop and 16 per cent from the dairy industry. In 1900 the figures were 57 per cent for hops and 37 per cent for the dairy. From 1880 to 1896 the percentage of the total income from the hop industry was greater than in 1875. In 1897 and 1898 the hop acreage of the town was reduced at least one-half and over one-third of the farmers had gone out of the business entirely.

[9] For illustration of this fact in the west see Weld, Social and Economic Survey of a Community in the Red River Valley, Univ. of Minn. Studies, No. 4, 55.

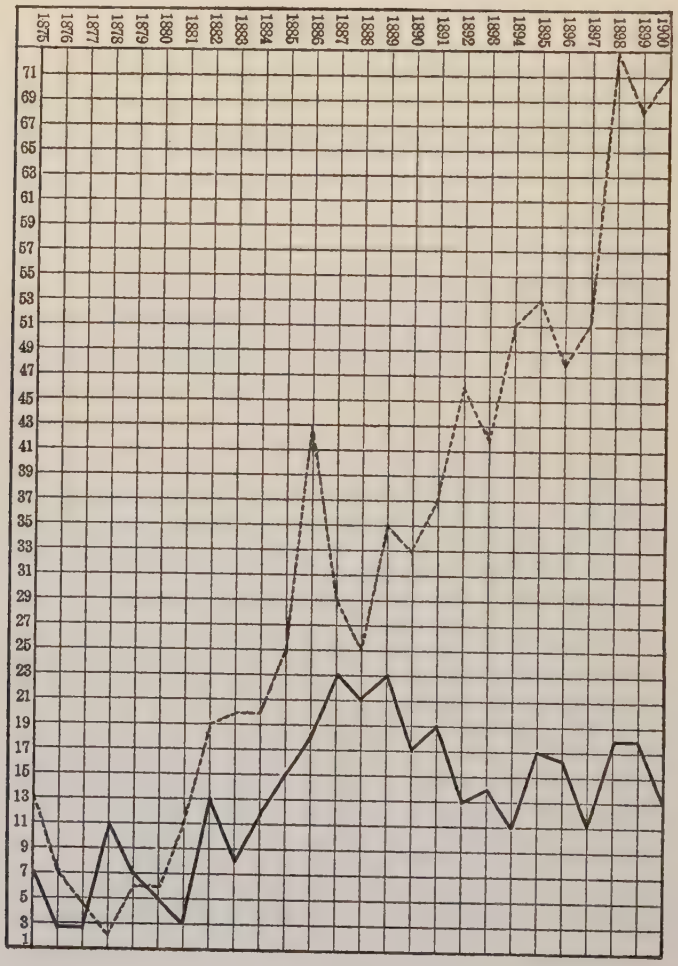
[10] From a certain merchant of the village of our typical town I secured two series of figures, the ratio of the amount outstanding at the end of each year to the permanent stock, and the ratio of the cash taken each year to the permanent

CHART I



stock. These two items are given for the years 1883–1900 inclusive. The largest figure in each series is for the year 1883. Upon this as a base I calculated the percentage of decrease each year. The percentage of decrease of the amount outstanding is represented in Chart I by the dash curve, while the dotted curve represents the percentage of decrease of the cash received. Both curves are based on the figures at the right. The unbroken curve, based on the figures at the left, represents the average price of hops for the year specified. This average price was obtained by striking the average of the selling prices for the first and the fifteenth day of each month from September to March inclusive. The average for this period is more accurate than the average for the whole year because almost all the hops produced in the town were sold between September and March. The point to be noted is not that the dash and dotted curves rise in times of prosperity but that the dash rises more than the dotted curve. In 1890, for instance, the amount outstanding increased twenty-five per cent while the cash received increased only ten per cent.

CHART II



In 1895–96 the dash curve declined forty-six per cent, the dotted curve only eighteen per cent. Thus the reckless purchase of goods on credit tended to increase with prosperity and to decrease with depression.

[11] This psychological condition at this time prevailed also in the West. (Thompson and Warber, Social and Economic Survey of a Rural Township in Southern Minnesota, Univ. of Minn., Studies in Economics, No. 1, 30, 35.)

CHAPTER VI

[1] The source of information for the changes in social pleasure in our typical town is the village paper. The editorship of the paper changed only twice between 1875 and 1900—in 1881 and 1887. In both cases the new editor carried out the policy of his predecessor so that the uniform policy simplifies the comparison of the data on social pleasure from year to year.

In chart II is compared the number of church fairs, festivals, banquets, sociables, suppers, picnics and entertainments mentioned each year in the village paper (unbroken curve) with the number of social functions given by other organizations or by individuals (dotted curve). Note that the non-church social life becomes far more important after 1881.

[2] Table II gives the names and number of athletic clubs in the town in the second period. In the village there was also a billiard parlor (1875–1900), bowling alley (1882–83), roller-skating rink (1884–85) and ice-skating rink (1897–1900).

Table II

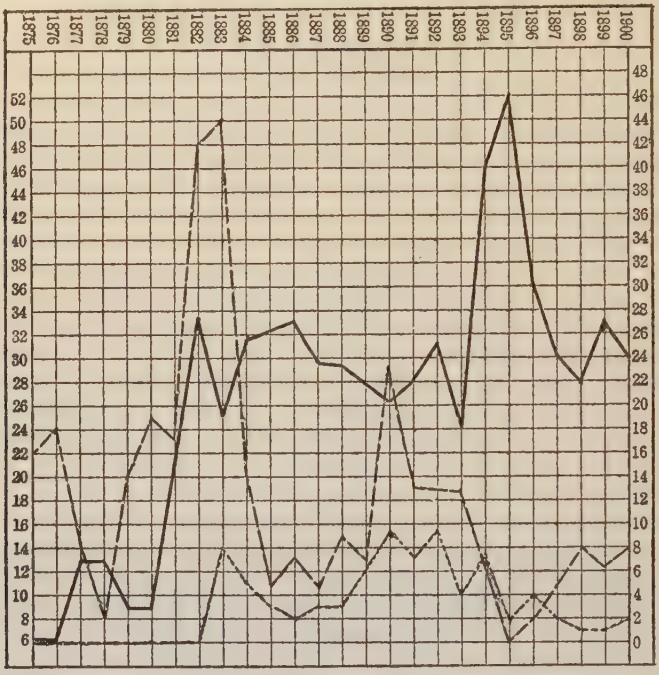
CLUBS	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
Baseball				1				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Archery					1	1																				
Gun									1	1	1	1	1	1	1				1	1						1
Polo										1	1															
Bicycle										1									1							
Tennis												1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1							
Football														2	1											
Military																	1									
Basketball																		1							1	1
Bowling																									1	
Golf																										1

[3] Kellogg, Tobaccoism, or How Tobacco Kills, 15.

[4] Chart III correlates with the economic curve the number of journeys made to summer and winter resorts by residents of our typical community. The dash curve is the hop curve and is based on the figures at the left. The dotted curve represents the number of persons per one thousand of the population who made one journey to Florida in the year specified. The unbroken curve represents the number of persons per one thousand of the population who made one journey to a summer resort. These curves are based on the figures at the right. Both the Florida and the summer resort curves show a marked response to the first period of prosperity. The Florida curve rises in 1890, while the summer resort curve shows no relation to the hop curve after the first period of prosperity. This is due to the fact that winter vacations are more expensive and hence are more dependent on prosperity, while summer vacations often consisted merely of a trip to a near-by resort to visit families who had built cottages there. The depression of both curves in 1893 is due to

the fact that in that year people went to the World's Fair instead of to Florida or to summer resorts. The important point shown by the chart is the marked response of both curves to the first period of prosperity.

CHART III



[5] Table III represents the clubs and societies for social pleasure that existed in our typical town during the period. The table represents the years when the society was active; not the years when it merely nominally existed. For instance the Agricultural society is noted as existing only in those years when it held a fair.

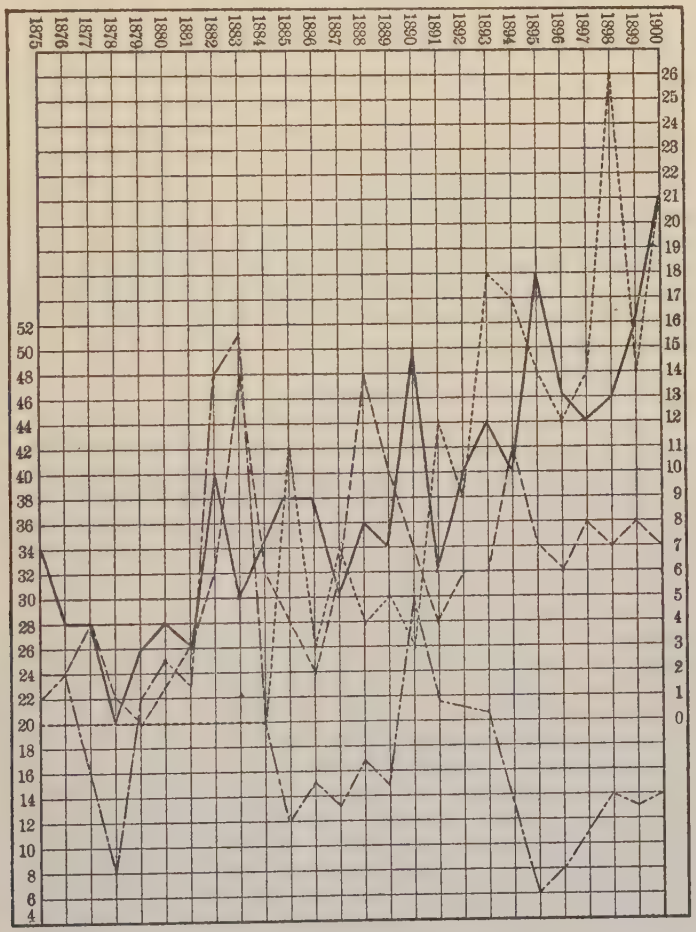
Table III

Societies and Clubs	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
Agricultural Society	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Grange Society	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dancing Clubs	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	1	2	2	2	1	..	.	1	..	1	1	..
Brass Band		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Musical Clubs			1	1	1																					
Village Men's Social Club					1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Miscellaneous Social Clubs								2	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	2	3	6	5	..	1	1	1	2	2	5
Card Clubs											2	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	1	2	3	2	4	3	3	4
Dramatic Societies											1	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Committee for 4th of July											1					1	1				1			1		
Driving Park Association											1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..

[6] Chart IV correlates with the economic curve the number of dances, card parties and concerts each year during the period. The dot and dash curve is the hop curve. The dash curve represents the number of concerts, the unbroken curve the number

of dances, the dotted curve the number of card parties recorded in the village paper in the years specified. These curves are based on the figures at the right. The dash curve shows a marked rise in 1883, due to prosperity, and again in 1888, due to the fact that the church choirs to which the new organs of the period of prosperity had given an impetus had now reached the height of their influence. Furthermore, the austere party was now emphasizing concerts as a means of diverting the people from dancing and card playing. The unbroken curve shows the response of dancing to the period of prosperity. The response of card parties was delayed until some of the village women had been initiated into the society of the city of A. After 1890 the dancing and card curves remain above the concert curve.

CHART IV



[7] Buck, The Granger Movement, 40.

[8] Fippin, Rural New York, 267, 347–348.

[9] Table IV gives the number of persons who joined the Grange each year up to 1900. The important point is that up to 1883 the rural districts were most largely

represented in the membership of the Grange while, after 1888, the proportion of village people steadily increased.

Table IV

Neighborhoods	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
Blankville	7	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	3	2	4	5	15	8	4	0	13	14	5	5	10	4	24	7
Six Valley Neighborh'ds	42	2	4	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	3	4	2	4	2	3	0	0	4	0	2	0	0	1	3	0	3
Five Hill Neighborh'ds	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Blanktown	53	5	4	5	2	0	1	0	0	0	12	7	4	8	7	18	9	4	4	15	16	5	5	11	7	24	10

[10] This decrease in fellow feeling is seen also in the West. (Thompson and Warber, op. cit., 63.)

[11] Williams, Principles of Social Psychology, 22–25.

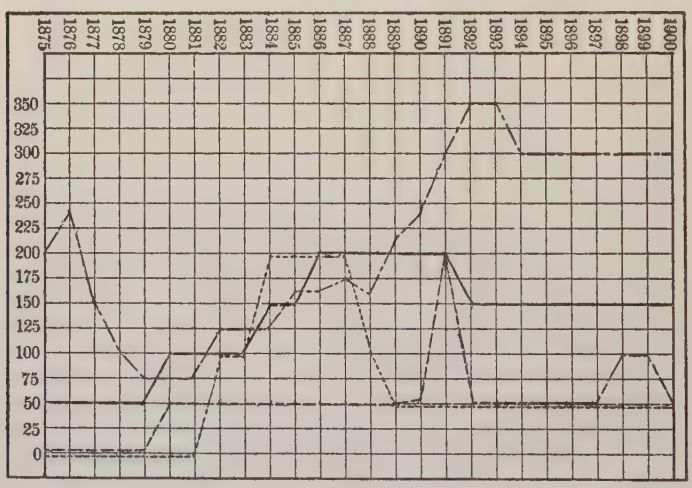
[12] Ibid. 21.

CHAPTER VII

[1] Other large expenditures in the period of prosperity were for parsonages built by the Baptists and Episcopalians in 1884 at a cost of about $4000 each. The Presbyterians and Methodists already had parsonages.

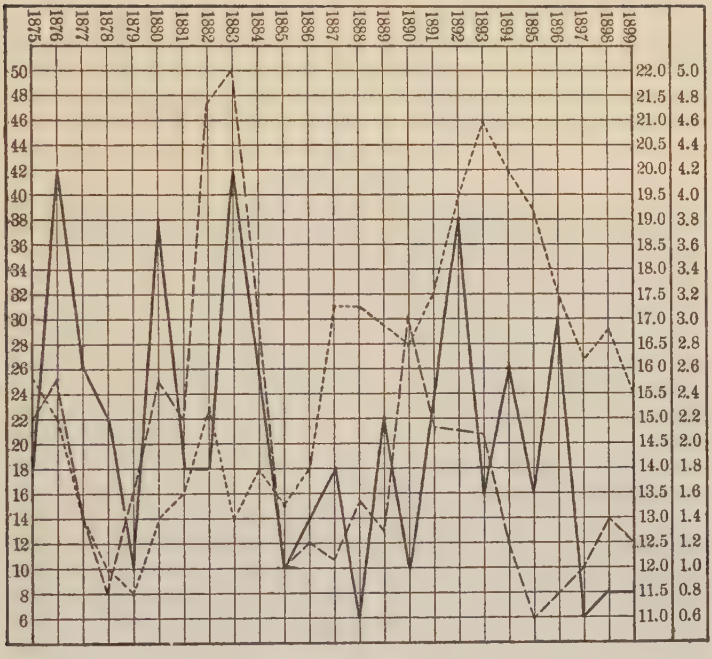
[2] The increasing importance of the musical part of the service is shown in Chart V which represents the number of dollars expended each year for their choirs by the Baptist (dotted curve), the Episcopal (dash curve), the Methodist (unbroken curve), and the Presbyterian (dot and dash curve) churches. All churches show a response to the prosperity of 1879–84.

CHART V



[3] Chart VI represents the per capita number of dollars expended by the Episcopal, Presbyterian and Methodist churches for parochial purposes (unbroken curve based on first column of figures at the right), and the per capita number of dollars expended for extra-parochial purposes, most of it for missions (dotted curve based on second column of figures at the right). The dash curve is the hop curve.

CHART VI



CHAPTER VIII

[1] Table V gives the clubs for intellectual pursuits which were active in the community during the first period of expansion.

Table V

Clubs	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
Men's Debating Club (Lyceum after 1878)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Reading Clubs	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	5	4	4	4	5	5	5
Study Clubs	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Alumni Association	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

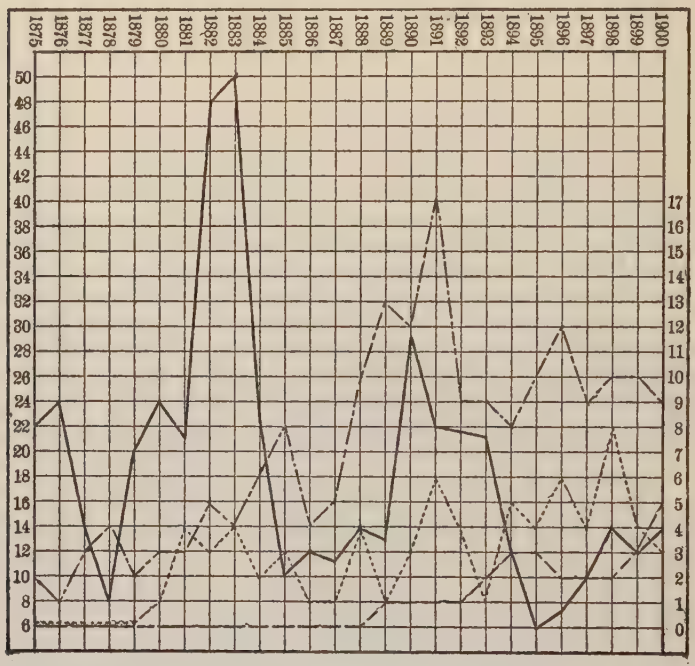
[2] The magazines taken in 1902 by the reading club first formed were; Atlantic, Century, Cosmopolitan, Country Life, Good Housekeeping, Harpers Weekly and Monthly, Independent, Ladies Home Journal, Leslie's Weekly, Life, Lippincott, Literary Digest, Magazine of Art, McClure's, Munsey, Puck, Review of Reviews, St. Nicholas, Scribner's, Scientific American, Success, Youth's Companion.

[3] There are no statistics of the number of children from the rural districts of our typical community who attended the village high school. However, the records of the treasurer of the Board of Education show the amount paid in tuition fees each year by pupils from the rural districts. As the tuition fee remained the same during the entire period, the increase or decrease of the total amount will indicate a

corresponding increase or decrease in the number of pupils. We find a marked increase in 1883, continuing to 1887. In 1893 there was another increase which continued to 1897, after which there was a decrease.

[4] Chart VII represents the number of students attending schools out of town. The dot and dash curve, the dash curve and the dotted curve represent the number attending college, a normal school, and a college preparatory school respectively and are based on the figures at the right. The data were obtained by personal inquiry and from notices in the village paper of students at home on vacations.

CHART VII



CHAPTER IX

[1] Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., IV: 13–16.

[2] In certain parts of Europe somewhat the same situation is seen. (Slavici, Die Rumänen, 173–182.)

[3] Buck, The Granger Movement, 9–15, 34–36, Chs. III–VI.

[4] Colliers, Apr. 28, 1923, 7.

CHAPTER X

[1] One of the most conspicuous examples of town administrative inefficiency has been the administration of the poor relief. In our typical town the statistics show a pronounced increase in the amount expended for poor relief (other than the relief of the sick poor) immediately following the first period of prosperity and during the second period. The first rise was due to the fact that the Overseer of the Poor was moved by the prevailing good feeling to be over-indulgent, for the money spent in out-relief was largely expended for feeding and lodging tramps. Up to

1896 it was the policy of the town to give all tramps supper, a night's lodging and breakfast. They were fed and lodged at the house of the Overseer of the Poor and the latter received for each meal thirty cents (up to 1884, twenty-five cents), and for each night's lodging fifty cents. The expense of relieving tramps greatly increased after 1883. Not until 1896 did the town take measures for retrenchment. The statistics also show a great increase in expenditures for the sick poor in the same year as the first marked increase of other out-relief.

[2] Buck, The Granger Movement, Chs. I–V.

CHAPTER XI

[1] Thomas and Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, IV: 12–13.

CHAPTER XII

[1] Warren, Suggestions for City Persons who Desire to Farm, State College of Agriculture, Circular No. 24, 35.

[2] Stuart, The Potato, 393.

[3] Fippin, Rural New York, 218, 219.

[4] Stuart, op. cit., 384–393.

[5] Fippin, op. cit., 99, 145, 164, 174.

[6] Ibid. 212.

[7] Ibid. 212.

CHAPTER XIII

[1] For statistics of the number of farms in New York engaged in different agricultural industries see Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, Pt. I, pp. 199 ff.; also New York Department of Farms and Markets, Statistics Relative to the Dairy Industry in New York State, 1922, Bulletin 158, 15. From these sources we learn that there were, in 1919, 193,195 farms in New York. Of these 152,128 produced orchard fruits; 37,978, grapes; 30,726, berries and currants; 114,390, oats, and a less number produced other cereals; 178,404 produced hay and forage; 163, 148, potatoes for the market, that is, not merely for home use, and 35,857, vegetables other than potatoes; 24,784 produced maple syrup; 11,667, honey; 175,022, poultry products; 18,828 kept sheep; 113,694 had swine. As to dairying, 162,367 farms had one or more dairy cows. Of these farms 59,000 farms averaged about two cows, 100,000 had commercial dairies and 85,000 of the latter delivered milk to various milk plants.

[2] Fippin, op. cit., 253.

[3] For the agricultural products of the Southern states see Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, Pt. II.

[4] Tannenbaum, Darker Phases of the South, 126; Dickey and Branson, How Farm Tenants Live in Mid-State Carolina, University of North Carolina, Extension Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 9, 58–98; Taylor and Zimmerman, Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers, Com. of State Bd. of Agric., 1923.

[5] Oskamp, The Planting and the Early Care of the Commercial Apple Orchard, Cornell Univ., Extension Bulletin 75, 4–5.

[6] Table VI shows the fluctuations in the prices of apples as compared with milk prices. The first column gives the yearly yield of a typical orchard (the Auchter orchard of western New York). The second column gives the price in dollars for which a barrel of apples was sold at the orchard. The third column gives the average prices in dollars at shipping stations of 100 pounds of milk for New York

markets. The sources of these figures are, for apples, Dr. U. P. Hedrick, Ten Years' Profit From an Apple Orchard, Bulletin 510, N. Y. Agric. Exp. Station, 6, 7, 13. The milk prices were obtained from the Milk Reporter, by Mr. E. G. Misner of the New York State College of Agriculture.

TABLE VI

Year	Number of barrels of apples per tree	Price at orchard per barrel	Average Price per 100 pounds of milk
1904	2.45	1.41	1.30
1905	1.42	2.80	1.36
1906	2.67	2.00	1.42
1907	2.41	3.50	1.58
1908	4.18	2.25	1.55
1909	2.37	3.35	1.59
1910	1.92	3.35	1.73
1911	3.41	2.50	1.58
1912	3.86	2.00	1.73
1913	4.41	3.00	1.66
1914	5.92	1.17	1.65
1915	2.67	2.37	1.67
1916	2.75	2.00	1.83
1917	2.75	2.00	2.66
1918	4.16	3.65	3.29
1919	3.38	6.60	3.57
1920	1.35	4.25	3.56

[7] Smith, Speaking of the Weather, Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1920, 190–191.

[8] Ibid. 191.

[9] Department of Farms and Markets of the State of New York, The Fruit Industry in New York State, Bulletin 147, 18.

[10] Thompson, Vegetable Crops, 1–7; New York Dept. of Agric., Bulletin 70, 1215–1237.

[11] Cook, The Canning Industry from the Grower's Standpoint, N. Y. Dept. of Agric., Bulletin 70, 1253–1255.

[12] Thompson, op. cit., Chs. II–XIII.

[13] The number of farmers keeping bees in New York decreased from 22,738 in 1900 (U. S. Census, Agriculture, Pt. I, p. 631) to 11,667 in 1920. The number probably has decreased since 1920 because there was a temporary increase during the war owing to the high prices of sugar and honey and the census of 1920 was taken at that time. Then the price of sugar and honey dropped and many farmers went out of the bee business.

[14] Two veteran bee keepers, Charles B. and Carleton D. Howard of Geneva, who are also fruit growers, believe in the possibility of a comparative study of the different degrees of mental alertness required for success in different agricultural industries, so that the idea is not entirely an academic one.

CHAPTER XIV

[1] To be exact, the rural population of New York is 1,795,383, which is 17.3 % of the total population of the state. (Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, Pt. I, 199.)

[2] The land area of the state in 1920 was 30,498, 560 acres of which 20,632,803 acres were in farms. Of this, 13,158,781 was improved land and the rest woodland or other unimproved land. (Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, Pt. I, 199.)

[8] Fippin, op. cit., 246–247.

[4] Howe, Denmark: a Coöperative Commonwealth; Smith-Gordon and Staples, Rural Reconstruction in Ireland; Branson, Farm Life Abroad, 44, Chs. XXVII–XXXI, 285–287.

[5] Young, The Movement of Farm Population, 46.

[6] Ibid. 34–35.

[7] Ibid. 36.

[8] Ibid. 24.

[9] Ibid. 30.

[10] Ibid. 34.

[11] In 1910 there were on toward 200 farms of 1000 acres or more, but most of the farming land was held in farms of less than 260 acres. (Fippin, Rural New York, 43, 70.)

[12] In 1880, 16.5 % of the farms were operated by tenants, in 1920, 19.2 %.

[13] For an interesting table giving these items for every state in the Union see Hobbs, Farm Tenancy in the United States, Univ. of North Carolina, Extension bulletin, Vol. II, No. 9, 17. See also Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. VI, Pt. I, 210.

[14] Young, The Movement of Farm Population, 72.

[15] Ibid. 46.

[16] Ibid. 46.

[17] There is the same movement to the villages in the West and for practically the same reasons. (Thompson and Warber, op. cit., 4–5.)

[18] It was noticeable in England in the first half of the nineteenth century (Heath, British Rural Life and Labor, Ch. XXV), and, by 1900, was conspicuous in all European nations. It is seen even in the agricultural nations, as Russia and Canada. In many of the towns and villages of Russia "the men have all gone; only the women, children and old men remain." (Mavor, An Economic History of Russia, II: 256.) In Canada the proportion of rural to total population diminished in every province in the decade 1901–1911. (MacDougall, Rural Life in Canada, 23.) The movement was stimulated by the World War. (Augé-Laribé, Le Paysan Français après la Guerre, Ch. VI.) In India and Japan the movement is almost as pronounced as in Europe. (Mann and Kanitkar, Land and Labor in a Deccan Village; Knox, Japanese Life in Town and Country, 188.)

[19] Branson, Social Occasions and Contacts in a Rural Community. Journal of Social Forces, I: 163.

[20] Groves, The Rural Mind and Social Welfare, Chs. III–IX.

[21] This is true not only in New York but in other states as well. (Ross, Folk Depletion as a Cause of Rural Decline, Proceed. Amer. Sociol. Soc., XI: 21–29.)

[22] Young, The Movement of Farm Population, 89.

[23] Ibid. 46.

[24] Williams, Principles of Social Psychology, 104.

[25] For a survey of the activities to which this awakening has led see Proceedings of the Third National Country Life Conference, 1920; MacGarr, The Rural Community, Chs. VIII–IX; Sims, The Rural Community, Chs. X–XII.

CHAPTER XV

[1] Fry, a Census Analysis of American Villages, 6.

[2] This situation was general in this country. (Galpin, The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community, Bulletin 34, Agric. Exper. Station, Univ. of Wis., 25–26.)

[3] Kirkpatrick, The Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming, Cornell Agric. Exp. Station, Bulletin 423, 26–112; Kirkpatrick, Family Living in Farm Homes, U. S. Dept. Agric., Bulletin No. 1214, January, 1924.

[4] Sanderson and Thompson, The Social Areas of Otsego County, Cornell University, Agric. Exp. Station, Bulletin 422, 19–24.

[5] In our typical town a man gave to one neighborhood, *The Center,* a community house, which was frequented, more or less, for a year or two and then abandoned, except for an occasional meeting there. *The Center* is only one mile from the village which is the center of attraction for people of *The Center.*

[6] Kolb, Rural Primary Groups, Univ. of Wis., Agric. Exp. Station, Bulletin 51, 22–66.

[7] This is quite general in the United States. (Sanderson, The Farmer and His Community, Ch. I; Kolb, Service Relations of Town and Country, Agric. Exp. Station, Univ. of Wis., 1923, Research Bulletin 58.)

[8] Sanderson, op. cit., 86–87.

[9] Young, The Movement of Farm Population, 54.

[10] These attitudes of business men and farmers are typical of the country generally. (Wilson, Coöperation and Community Spirit, Proceed. Amer. Sociol. Soc., XI: 117; Gillette, Declining Villages and the Function of Communication in their Improvement, Proceed. Fourth Nat'l Country Life Conference, 1921, 32.)

[11] Spencer, An Economic Study of Rural Store Credit in New York, 3.

[12] Ibid. 9.

[13] Ibid. 39.

[14] Ibid. 39.

[15] Ross, Social Roads to Peace, 120.

CHAPTER XVI

[1] For instance, some coöperative societies do not have a pooling plan, though pooling is said by experts in coöperation to be a necessary part of the plan of a cooperative society; and it is maintained that, though certain conspicuously successful societies have not had the pool, this is a weakness. ("What a Great Coöperator Thinks of the League," Dairymen's League News, July 20, 1923, 3.) For arguments against the pool see the files of *The Non-Pooler.* This is the weekly publication of the Non-Pooling Dairymen's Coöperative Association of New York, an organization of farmers opposed to the Dairymen's League Coöperative Association.

[2] New York Department of Farms and Markets, Statistics Relative to the Dairy Industry in New York State, 1922, Bulletin 158, p. 9.

[3] Fippin, op. cit., 207, 212–214.

[4] Coöperation in the dairy industry began with coöperative creameries in the eighties. This form of coöperation developed in New England also where coöperative creameries began to spread about 1880. (Ford, Coöperation in New England, 135–136.) But both in New England and New York the movement was impeded by the individualistic attitude of farmers and by the strategy of milk dealers.

[5] Fippin, op. cit., 276–277; Department of Farms and Markets of New York, Bulletin No. 158, Pt. II.

[6] Fippin, op. cit., 277–278.

[7] Dairyman's League News, June 29, 1923, 11.

[8] See map of local associations published by the League. See also Secretary Manning's address at the annual convention in 1923, Dairymen's League News, July 6, 1923, 3.

[9] "President's Annual Report," Dairymen's League News, June 23, 1922.

[10] "What a Great Coöperator Thinks of the League," Dairymen's League News, July 30, 1923, 3.

[11] Ibid. 3.

[12] Thus far the League has not succeeded in getting a reasonable price. The experts of the State College of Agriculture had in May, 1924, obtained cost of production data on over a thousand farms with over 20,000 cows covering a period of years from 1915 to 1923. There was no region included where the price received for milk was equal to the cost of production when the labor was charged at the rates asked by the farmers. The rates were reasonable. For data on the cost of production of milk see the following bulletins of the State College of Agriculture: Misner, An Economic Study of Dairying on 149 Farms in Broome County, New York, Bulletin 409, April, 1922; Misner, Economic Studies of Dairy Farming in New York, I, Bulletin 421, June, 1923; Misner, Calculating the Cost of Milk Production, Cornell Reading Course for the Farm, February, 1919.

[13] See the League's map of its plants.

[14] "President's Annual Report," Dairymen's League News, June 23, 1922.

[15] "The Story of the Pool Price," Dairymen's League News, Sept. 22, 1922.

[16] Dairymen's League News, June 29, 1923, 11.

[17] Ibid. 12.

[18] Dairymen's League News, June 29, 1923, 2, 14, and July 6, 1923, 1.

[19] Dairymen's League News, July 6, 1923, 12.

[20] Ibid. 12.

[21] "President's Annual Report," Dairymen's League News, June 23, 1923, 1, 11.

[22] Proceedings of Twelfth Annual Meeting of New York State Fruit Growers' Association, 1913, 115.

CHAPTER XVII

[1] Bernhard, Die Polenfrage, 165; Thomas and Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, IV: Ch. V.

[2] Branson, Farm Life Abroad, 202.

[3] The California fruit growers, also, had to be driven by necessity before they overcame their individualism sufficiently to coöperate. (Sanderson, The Farmer and his Community, 84.)

[4] Mann and Kanitkar, Land and Labor in a Deccan Village, Study No. 2, 158.

[5] For instance, see Price, Farmer's Coöperation in Minnesota, 1917–1922, Univ. of Minn., Agri. Exp. Station, Bulletin 202, 13–28.

[6] Address of Mr. Kelly at the annual meeting of the League, 1923. (Dairymen's League News, July 6, 1923, 2.)

[7] The United States Census of Agriculture for 1920 gives the total value of farm property (by whomsoever owned), including land, buildings, implements and machinery, and livestock, as seventy-eight billion dollars in round numbers, no account being taken of crops on hand, cash on hand, or other forms of property. This makes a per capita value of $2,464 for every man, woman and child of the farm population of 1920. The per capita value of farm property of New York was $2,385. (Galpin, Can the Farm Family Afford Modern Institutions? Bur. Agric. Econ., 1923.) Sixty-one per cent of the farmers of the United States owned the farms they worked. While organized labor owns property, as the banks of the International Association of Machinists, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers prove, workmen rarely own their own instruments of production and are therefore, not economically as independent as are the farmers. (Price, Farmers and Workers in American Politics, 39–42.)

[8] Williams, Principles of Social Psychology, 136.

[9] Kile, The Farm Bureau Movement, 128–130.

[10] Williams, Principles of Social Psychology, Chs. XXVI, XXVIII.

[11] Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, The Clothing Workers of Chicago, 1910–1922, Chs. II–IV.

[12] Dairymen's League News, July 6, 1923, 3.

[13] Ibid. 12.

[14] Secretary Manning, in his address at the annual meeting in 1923, gave the number as 64,251. (Dairymen's League News, July 6, 1923, 3.)

[15] President's Annual Report, Dairymen's League News, June 23, 1922.

[16] Address of Mr. Kelly at annual convention of Dairymen's League. (Dairymen's League News, July 6, 1923, 15.)

[17] Secretary Manning's address, Dairymen's League News, July 6, 1923, 11.

[18] Ibid. 11.

[19] For instance in the Dairymen's League News for January 26, 1923, the following problems were discussed: the legal status of the Dairymen's League; the policy of the League in the fixing of prices; the provision of facilities by the League for marketing milk; the political strength of the League; the use of the movies to educate the public about the League; the use of glass lined milk tanks; the use of whitewash instead of lead paint for the cows quarters; the value of different kinds of feed for cows. This news concerning coöperation was given: coöperative dairies in Denmark; coöperation association of banana planters in Nicaraugua; coöperative society of western New York for selling vegetables. In addition there were articles on the annual meeting of the New York State Breeders' Association and the annual meeting of the New York State Canning Crops Growers Association and the annual meeting of the New York Sheep Growers Association.

[20] Dairymen's League News, July 6, 1923, 3.

[21] See the pamphlet entitled "Let the Court Tell This Story"; also "Pooling Contract is Legal" and "Some Things Dairymen have Accomplished Through Real Coöperation during the Last Twelve Months," Dairymen's League News, Feb. 9, 1923.

[22] Address of President Slocum at fourth annual meeting, Dairymen's League News, June 29, 1923, 9.

CHAPTER XVIII

[1] The Non-Pooler, April 30, 1925.

[2] Williams, The Foundations of Social Science, 106–108.

[3] Branson, Farm Life Abroad, 43–44.

[4] Ibid. 213.

[5] Ibid. 106, 215.

CHAPTER XIX

[1] "The League Strengthens its Position," American Agriculturist, Jan. 10, 1925, 28.

[2] Burritt, Canning Crops Growers Pay the Fiddler, Amer. Agric., Jan. 3, 1925, 17.

[3] Kallen, Education, the Machine and the Worker.

[4] Amalgamated Clothing Workers, op. cit., 68.

[5] Branson, Farm Life Abroad, 211–212.

[6] Williams, The Foundations of Social Science, 296.

[7] Branson, op. cit., 195–196.

[8] Ibid. Chs. XXIV–XXVI; Foght, The Danish Folk High Schools; Desmond, The Soul of Denmark, Ch. XI.

[9] Dewey, New Schools for Old, 70–71.

[10] The Program of the National Fascist Party (December, 1921) states that "Military service is compulsory on every citizen. *The army should set before itself the idea of an armed Nation in which every kind of strength, individual and collective, economic, industrial, and agricultural, shall work together for one supreme purpose: the defence of national interests.*" This attitude is to be inculcated in children, beginning in the elementary schools. The Program declares for "The *introduction of National sentiment* into elementary schools, so as to make them suitable for the moral and physical training of Italian soldiers; for this end there must be rigid State control over the code of instruction, the choice of teachers, and their teaching." This control is to extend also over the secondary schools and the universities. (Odon Por, Fascism, Appendix II.)

[11] Dewey, New Schools for Old, 158–165.

[12] Branson, op. cit., 164–166.

[13] Ibid. 199.

CHAPTER XX

[1] Kile, The Farm Bureau Movement, 71–82; Burritt, The Extension Service, Bulletin 63, April, 1923, 9.

[2] Burritt, The County Agent and the Farm Bureau, 233.

[3] Burritt, The County Agent and the Farm Bureau, Ch. IV.

[4] Ibid. 103, Chs. V–VI.

[5] Burritt, The County Agent and the Farm Bureau, Ch. III.

[6] Burritt, The Extension Service, 24; Burritt, The County Agent and the Farm Bureau, Ch. I.

[7] Burritt, The County Agent and the Farm Bureau, Ch. II.

[8] This is true of western states also. (Woods, op. cit., 663.)

[9] Burritt, The Extension Service, 30.

[10] Ibid. 12.

[11] Ibid. 14, 31–35.

[12] Burritt, The County Agent and the Farm Bureau, 104.

[13] Ibid. 94.

[14] Ibid. 95, 106.

[15] Ibid. 102.

[16] Ibid. 102–103.

[17] Burritt, The Extension Service, 28.

[18] Burritt, The County Agent and the Farm Bureau, 234.

CHAPTER XXI

[1] Kile, The Farm Bureau Movement, 10.

[2] Ibid. 10–13.

[3] Grange circular No. 5. See also circular No. 3.

[4] Circular No. 5.

[5] Circular No. 4 entitled, "Declaration of Purposes of the Patrons of Husbandry."

[6] Circular entitled, "What the Grange has Accomplished." See also folder entitled, "Legislative Recommendations of the National Grange, 1923."

[7] The coöperative council has two main functions, to coöperate in getting legisla-

tion that all the constituent associations need, while each seeks the legislation that it may specifically need, and to coöperate in educating the people of the cities as to the need of coöperation, while each association attends to the education of the farmers of its own agricultural industry.

[8] Burritt, Empire State Farm Organizations Set Fine Example in Coöperation for All Others, Dairymen's League News, March 24, 1922.

[9] The Rural New-Yorker had, in 1924, a total circulation of about 218,000 subscribers. These were distributed over every state in the Union and Canada. The papers of over 75 % of the subscribers were mailed R. F. D. or were delivered in post offices in towns under 1,000 inhabitants.

[10] Rural New-Yorker, Feb. 21, March 27, June 12, July 17 and 24, 1920.

[11] Kallen, Education, the Machine and the Worker, Chs. I–VII.

CHAPTER XXII

[1] Brim, Rural Education, 169.

[2] Young, The Movement of Farm Population, 84–85.

[3] Dewey, New Schools for Old, 138.

[4] For the classification of dispositions that will be used in this and succeeding chapters see Williams, Principles of Social Psychology, Book I.

[5] Ibid. Ch. II.

[6] Sanderson, op. cit., 16; Galpin, Rural Social Problems, 20.

[7] Dewey, op. cit., Ch. VIII.

CHAPTER XXIII

[1] Patten, The Country Church in Colonial Counties, Chs. V, IX, XIV.

[2] In *Our Rural Heritage* and in this book, I have confined my analysis of rural religion to the religious attitudes of the rank and file. A parallel line of research is that of religion as expounded by the preachers and theologians, for which see a forth-coming book by Professor Mecklin of Dartmouth College.

[3] In other states also interest in religion waned while sectarianism continued. See the Ohio Rural Surveys made by the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church.

[4] Atkeson, The Woman on the Farm, 9.

[5] Brunner, Churches of Distinction in Town and Country, Ch. III.

[6] Brunner, Tested Methods in Town and Country Churches, 38.

[7] Fitch, Can the Church Survive in the Changing Order? 74.

[8] Dewey, Experience and Nature, 17, 40–44.

CHAPTER XXIV

[1] Carney, Country Life and the Country School, 150–158.

[2] Collingwood, Adventures in Silence, 96.

[3] Instance the following resolution passed by the New York State Grange: "We favor a course of study in the rural school districts that will fit our farm boys to take their places, as in the past, in the highest fields of endeavor." (Proceedings of the New York State Grange, 1922, 131.)

[4] Eaton, Vocational Education in Farming Occupations.

[5] Brim, Rural Education, Pts. I and II.

[6] The Joint Committee on Rural Schools of the Agricultural Conference Board has already made an extensive investigation of rural schools which has been pub-

lished under the title, Rural School Survey of New York State. This investigation was made to serve as a basis for action by the Board looking toward the improvement of the rural education of the State.

[7] The consolidation authorized was that provided for in bill number 126, introduced in the New York Senate on January 14, 1924 and defeated in April of that year. The Agricultural Board appointed a committee to formulate its attitude to the bill and the committee published a pamphlet, "Report of Publicity Committee on Rural Education," which set forth its reasons for supporting the bill.

[8] Sanderson and Thompson, The Social Areas of Otsego County, Cornell University, Agric. Exp. Station, Bulletin 422, 22, 25.

[9] Carney, Community Relations, in Rural School Survey of New York State, 233.

[10] Ibid. 242–245.

[11] Ibid. 247–248.

[12] Williams, Principles of Social Psychology, Chs. XXIV–XXV.

[13] Ibid. Bks. II–VII.

[14] Carney, op. cit., 224–225.

[15] Bagley, The Teaching Personnel, in Rural School Survey of New York State, Ch. V.

[16] Brim, The Elementary Curriculum, in Rural School Survey of New York State, 208.

[17] Ibid. 164, 143.

[18] Ibid. 129.

[19] Ibid. 117.

[20] For instance, a pupil handed his teacher a pamphlet issued by the National Popular Government League on "The Seizure of Haiti by the United States." The pamphlet was merely a statement of facts, all of which were taken from public documents, and was signed by twenty-two distinguished lawyers. But the teacher denounced the pamphlet as "socialistic" and refused in any way to modify his treatment of related themes in view of the facts there disclosed. Facts are ignored that call in question the action of government officials and so weaken the attitude of unreasoning loyalty that the teacher is bent on inculcating.

[21] Williams, Principles of Social Psychology, 8–9.

[22] I handed to various teachers the manuscript of this chapter to read and criticise. The material and analyses were entirely new to all of them. Their reactions seemed to depend on their attitude to their work. It is a part of the teacher's job to magnify the importance of her work. One who does not is thought to be lacking in amour propre. School administrations demand that the teachers have a proper "professional spirit," and one of the questions that teachers' agencies ask those who endorse candidates for teaching positions is as to their professional spirit. Professional spirit involves an uncritical acceptance of the standards of the profession and an emotional realization of its importance. In many teachers this is a good deal of a pose, others are carried away by it. Now some of the teachers felt their amour propre injured by the chapter and did not seem capable of regarding it critically. Among those who did, one handed it back with the remark, "What you say may be true, so far as I see, but I don't think the teachers are to blame. I find that teaching is just an uninteresting grind and that what teachers are thinking of is the money there was in it." The implication was, as I found on further conversation, that, under the system, it is impossible to do much real teaching so that the attitudes of teachers are more or less unconsciously acquired as a result of intuitions as to what enables a teacher to get on in that school, getting on meaning, in the last analysis, getting solid with the powers that be in order to feel secure and to have the satisfaction that comes from the approval of supervisors and colleagues

and from feeling assured of the stated advances in salary and of tenure of position or promotion to a better one.

CHAPTER XXV

[1] Galpin, Rural Life, 25.

[2] Lippmann, Liberty and the News, 89.

[3] Ross, The Russian Soviet Republic, Ch. XXIII; Williams, The Foundations of Social Science, 112–113.

[4] For instance, compare the newspaper attitudes to the French debt problem, as seen in the files of various dailies in August to October 1925, with Moulton's and Lewis' masterly book, The French Debt Problem.

[5] Journal of Proceedings of New York State Grange, 1924, 41; Buell, the Grange Master and the Grange Lecturer, Pt. III.

[6] Gillen, Social Education of the Farm Population, Proceedings of Fifth National Country Life Conference, 1922, 84–85.

[7] Capper, The Agricultural Bloc, 118–119.

[8] Ibid. 119.

[9] Steffens, How Europe Can Help America, Century Magazine, August, 1923, 534.

CHAPTER XXVI

[1] Williams, Principles of Social Psychology, 196.

[2] Kile, The Farm Bureau Movement, 181–183.

[3] Buck, The Agrarian Crusade, 40.

[4] Rice, Farmers and Workers in American Politics, 20, 33, Ch. II, 215–220.

[5] This is true also of Communities of the West. (Warber, Social and Economic Survey of a Community in Northwestern Minnesota, Univ. of Minn., Studies, no. 5, 67.)

[6] Journal of Proceedings of New York State Grange, 1924, 8; Journal of Proceedings of the National Grange, 1923, 180.

[7] Williams, The Foundations of Social Science, 228, 288.

[8] Kile, The Farm Bureau Movement, 241.

[9] Ibid. 173–183.

[10] Lundquist, What Farm Women are Thinking, Univ. of Minn., Special Bulletin No. 71, 8.

[11] Proceedings of New York State Grange, 1924, 93.

[12] Holcombe, The Foundations of the Modern Commonwealth, 386.

[13] Ibid. 374–380.

[14] Holmes, The Path of the Law, Harvard Law Review, X: 457, 467; Williams, The Foundations of Social Science, 143–149.

[15] The expulsion of the five Socialists is by no means to be attributed to the farmers or their representatives in the legislature, for assemblymen from the cities supported that action. But most of the assemblymen representing the rural districts favored it and those with whom I talked said that they never received any criticism of their action either from farmers or in the rural press of their constituency.

[16] Chafee, Freedom of Speech, 332–364.

[17] The readiness with which the imagination of people is stirred fearfully is illustrated in the case of the population around a large lake in central New York. As far back, indeed, further back than anybody can remember, there has been a fear of going on that lake because it was said to be more dangerous than others in that

region. Yet there is not the slightest reason for thinking so. No one knows how or where the state of mind started. Possibly it is because this lake is very deep and never freezes over in winter as do others. Strange tales are told about the lake and those who do not believe the tales still dread to go on the lake and warn those who would do so. Anything that cannot be readily explored, as a deep lake or an impenetrable swamp, is apt to become dreaded and the dread to be vouched for by a mythology. So it is comparatively easy, with people thus constituted, to stimulate fear and dread toward a far distant government, and to inspire belief in almost every conceivable tale about it, especially when the dread is apparently justified by the prejudiced aloofness of the home government and by manufactured tales given as news items in the newspapers which are so credulously read.

[18] General Laws of New York, 1921, p. 114.

[19] Williams, The Foundations of Social Science, 157–158; Williams, Principles of Social Psychology, 413–415.

[20] Cabot, Social Work, 102.

CHAPTER XXVII

[1] This still true to-day. See Warren, Farm Management, 98.

[2] Gill, Social Control: Rural Religion. Proceed. Amer. Sociol. Soc., XI: 106–111.

[3] Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., IV: 183–185, I: 289–290.

[4] Tennal, A Modern Type of Country Journalism, in Thorpe, The Coming Newspaper, 131; Thornton, Opportunities for the Bush League Greeley, Outlook, Nov. 30, 1921, 529.

[5] Dewey, New Schools for Old, 70–71.

[6] Branson, Farm Life Abroad, 43.

[7] Capper, The Agricultural Bloc. Chs. VI–XVI.

[8] This class consciousness prevailed widely in New York State and throughout the country and found political expression in national politics. (Beard, Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy, Chs. XII–XIII.)

CHAPTER XXVIII

[1] Williams, The Foundations of Social Science, Chs. VII–XI.

[2] Socialists maintain that if the farmers play this role it will make a socialistic state impossible. They say it would result in a "democratic" rather than a socialistic state. Not the farmers but the "proletariat," that is, the wage-earning class should, they say, predominantly determine political development. (Eastman, Since Lenin Died, Ch. XIII.) But wage-earners may come to share in the control and operation of their own enterprises and thus may be in as strong a position as farmers to make political development democratic. (Kallen, Education, the Machine and the Worker, Chs. XVI–XXIII.)

[3] Branson, Farm Life Abroad, 205, 202–203.

[4] The wasteful marketing of farm produce was included among the causes of national waste given in a report of an investigation of waste in American industry by the United States Department of Commerce, January, 1925.

[5] Branson, op. cit., 103–104.

[6] Williams, Principles of Social Psychology, 103–104.

[7] Ross, Roads to Social Peace, 121.

[8] Ibid. 122.

[9] Ibid. 123.

[10] United States Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska, long one of the leading

Republican senators, in an article in the Nation, Sept. 16, 1925, writes that recent appointments made by President Coolidge "to the Interstate Commerce Commission, to the Federal Trade Commission, and the action of the Executive with regard to the Tariff Commission, together with the appointment of Mr. Warren to be the head of the Department of Justice, all indicate that it is the intention of the present Administration to place representatives of so-called 'big business' in charge of all the activities of the federal government." (297.) The Federal Trade Commission is the one that particularly deals with monopolies and Mr. Norris writes of the appointment of Mr. Humphrey as a member of that Commission: "During all his public service his viewpoint has stood out prominently, he has been a fearless advocate of big business in all lines. His record discloses that he can have no sympathy with the small business man who is protesting against unfair competition of trusts and monopolies. His appointment has changed the viewpoint of the commission. It now stands three to two in favor of the big-business idea.

"What is the object of the Federal Trade Commission? The law was passed because it was thought that there was need of affording protection to the small business man against monopoly and the machinations of trusts and combinations. Monopolistic concerns had, by unfair methods of competition, driven their competitors from the field and the people of the country paid the expense in increased prices. . . . If the Federal Trade Commission established for the purpose of protecting the small business man against the machinations of trusts and monopolies, is to be administered by men who believe that best results can be obtained by giving monopoly full sway, then why have the commission at all? If the men and corporations that are intended to be regulated by it are themselves to manage it and run it, then why not take the logical next step—repeal the laws and abolish the commission?" (298.) Of course the reason big business will retain the commission is that the people can thereby be made to believe that monopoly is being effectively regulated. And the policy of keeping secret much of the business of the Commission, which Senator Norris says has been adopted since the appointment of Mr. Humphrey, makes it easier to accomplish this purpose.

[11] This process can be traced down through European and American history. See Beard, The Economic Basis of Politics; Becker, The Eve of the Revolution; Beard, An Economic Interpretation of The Constitution of the United States; Beard, Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy.

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